

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

II

THE GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET FOR 1928-29.

* Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—“ Sir, I am sorry that I don't find my hon. Friend the hon. Mr. Moir, the Finance Member, in his place when the discussion on his budget opens. I hope he will be here presently. The first thing that I wish to place before you is this: that taking into consideration the Revenue receipts and the expenditure charged to revenue, the present budget is a deficit budget. The deficit is about half a crore and if we go on budgeting in this manner, that is, having deficit budgets year after year, the time will not be far distant when we shall become insolvent. As in the case of individuals, so also, I think, in the case of Governments, it will not be prudent to live beyond one's means and that is what the budget of my hon. Friend shows. No doubt we have to congratulate ourselves on the fact that the Government of India have permanently released 48 lakhs and odd, the remaining portion of the Provincial contribution and, even making allowance for this release of about half a crore, the balance of the deficit still comes to two lakhs. With reference to the release of this provincial contribution, I take this opportunity of congratulating my hon. Friend Mr. Moir. Some years ago, I think it was in 1922 or so, a deputation of this Council waited upon the then Viceroy, Lord Reading. Members of that deputation were armed with a closely reasoned and strongly worded memorandum prepared by Mr. Moir, who was then the Finance Secretary to this Government. My friend, Mr. Moir himself, was a member of that deputation from this Council. Members of that deputation, I remember distinctly, had a long conversation with the Viceroy on that occasion lasting for one and a half hours and the general impression—though members of the deputation were disappointed on that occasion in not having been able to get the required relief from His Excellency—with which the members of the deputation came back was that sooner or later—sooner they thought than later—they would be able to get a reduction at first and ultimately the total abolition of this contribution, and to-day on the 1st of March 1928 when the official year begins, this Council and particularly my hon. Friend, may be congratulated on the success of their achievement.

“ Now, with reference to this point of deficit budget, I note both from the budget and from the speech of my hon. Friend and from other records in connexion with financial matters, that our revenue does not expand so fast as our expenditure. There is no doubt an expansion in the revenues of this province, but the expenditure runs much faster than the revenue side of the budget. With reference to those important items of revenue which are capable of expansion and which do expand year after year, I may first refer to the most important item of the provincial finance, viz., Land Revenue. The amount of land revenue in the beginning of this century was about five crores. It has now reached $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores—that is the figure, I am speaking in round figures, in the budget for 1928-29. With reference to this I make bold to make this observation, viz., that more or less we have reached the maximum under this item. I do not mean to say that there will be no expansion hereafter at all. There is possibility of an increase in this item, but having regard to the demand, persistent demand in this Council that the power of fixing the settlement rates should be vested in this Council, it will not be possible for the Government to refuse that demand for ever and when that demand is granted, the possibility of expansion will more or less be restricted.

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"Then, the next important item of revenue is Excise. With reference to that again, the amount of revenue under this head at the beginning of this century was about a crore and a half: it has now reached $5\frac{1}{4}$ crores—that is the figure in the current year's budget. Now, here again it is not likely that this revenue will expand in an appreciable manner. On the other hand, there is every possibility that it will decrease. We must take into consideration the insistent demand for the introduction of a policy, if not of total prohibition, at least of temperance. Having regard to the prohibition movement and the growing volume and the strength of that demand, we must be prepared not for an expansion in this item but for a reduction.

"The next important item of revenue is that under Stamps. With reference to that, you and my colleagues of this Council will be able to remember that an enhancement of about 50 per cent was made by this Council at a time of financial stress in the year 1922 by increasing the duties by about 50 per cent on court fees and on non-judicial stamps. Here again, particularly after the release of the provincial contribution last year and the previous year's partial reduction, we have been demanding the reduction of the court fees and stamp duties. Here also we cannot expect an expansion of revenue. Connected with this is the registration fees: the Government have already reduced, registration fees. These are the most important items of revenue and the others are less important.

"If you look on the expenditure side, what do you find? The expenditure, as I submitted, is expanding very rapidly and out of all proportion to the revenue side. What we find is this. We find that the Government themselves have passed an order that the capital expenditure on works which are not productive should be met out of current revenues provided the total cost of this capital expenditure does not exceed 5 lakhs. Then there is the next item—the increment of time-scale pay. You will remember that in 1920-21 an incremental time-scale was introduced in the pay of the officers and on that occasion large purses were granted to the officers—that is purses on account of the arrears calculated on these incremental time-scales and since then the expenditure has been progressing rapidly. Even now the maximum limit has not been reached. My friend himself calculates that more than 6 lakhs of rupees will be required to meet the expenditure under this incremental time-scale in 1928-29. Not only that, but in addition to this, new posts are created, carrying with them this incremental time-scale. Where shall we land ourselves if we go on at this rate? Then again, the pension list of the Government—of course Government cannot be blamed for this—is rapidly increasing year after year.

"Then again, as my hon. Friend himself states, there are very often unexpected items of expenditure, caused by floods and cyclones. Nobody has control over these things, and we remember that in the year 1924 a very large amount of unexpected expenditure had to be incurred on account of floods and cyclone.

"Then again, there are year after year insistent demands by local boards for grants of funds for services such as those connected with roads, sanitation and so on. These too cannot be refused. They have to be met. Then the Andhra University Act was passed a year or two ago and the capital expenditure that is expected in connection with that is a very large sum. In addition to that there is the usual recurring expenditure. Then

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again there are two important projects, the Cauvery-Mettur project and the Pykhara scheme. Of course my friend stated and we know it as a fact that the expenditure on these is met out of the loan funds but the interest has to be paid year after year. The Mettur project was started with an estimate of six crores. Now, we find that the estimate has risen to more than 7 crores, I believe the exact figure is 717 lakhs. I shall not be surprised if as usual this estimate rises still further and the interest on these large amounts has to be paid year after year to the Government of India out of the current revenue, and the income that will arise out of these projects will take years before it can be realized. So also with reference to the Hydro-Electric scheme. In the current year it is proposed to spend only ten lakhs and it is stated that Mr. Howard is reviewing and revising this scheme. That also is a costly scheme costing more than 100 lakhs, and it will not be surprising if that sum is exceeded. With reference to that again, it will take a long time before the income begins to be realized and the interest has to be paid year after year to the Government of India.

"Having regard to all these facts—and there are several other items also, I need not refer to them in detail—unless particular care is taken by this Government, I am afraid that we shall be landed in insolvency. That is certainly a calamity to be avoided. I have made various suggestions in the past. Various constructive suggestions have been made for the reduction of expenditure but for want of time I am not willing to go into the details now. If I get opportunities when the various demands under the several heads are put in the course of the detailed discussion, I may move out pointing out the directions in which retrenchment can be effected and the possibility of a steady budget being framed. So far with reference to the budget in general and with reference to the financial side of it.

"Sir, I wish to make some further observations with reference to particular facts. The first and the most important subject to which I wish to draw the attention of the Government and particularly the hon. the Revenue Member is a subject which has been discussed in this House very often. That is the need and the desirability of introducing a Land Revenue Settlement Bill. Now, I wish to draw the attention of my learned colleagues to this subject. The Royal Commission on decentralisation in the year 1909 stated that it was necessary to introduce a Bill fixing the rate with reference to Land Revenue Settlement. That was elaborated and it found greater expression in the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, which preceded the Reforms. They said that the rates of assessment and the periods and other details connected with Land Revenue Settlement should be codified. In consequence of these observations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, this Government appointed a committee with the then Revenue Member, Sir Muhammad Habib-ul-lah as its President, to go into the whole question of settlement and report. The Committee sat and a Bill was submitted. That Bill generally sought to codify the existing provisions with reference to revision of settlement and the various rules and the practice that is now in existence. And an important addition was also made in that Bill. That was that the Bill stated, and this point I wish to emphasise, and the Committee were unanimous in holding that the power of fixing the rates of assessment should be granted to this Council. That Bill was sent up along with the report by the Committee. The Government sat over that report for a long time and ultimately Sir Arthur Knapp came forward with a Bill

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omitting that important provision in that Bill ; the power of fixing the rates of settlement recommended by the Committee and recommended in that Bill did not find a place in Sir Arthur Knapp's Bill and the result was that when the Bill came up for discussion in this Council, it was vetoed or disallowed by a very large majority of 68 to 18. No doubt there is one beneficial, salutary and important provision in that Bill, namely, that when an enhancement is sought to be made in revenue settlement based only on the rise of prices, that enhancement should not at one time or one occasion exceed $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. That is certainly a provision to be thankful for. And though that has not found a statutory ratification till now, I believe Government have been acting on that principle and of course we are thankful to them for it. But this is not all. Subsequent to that my friend, the hon. Sir Marjoribanks, published a Bill in the Gazette a year or so ago, but it has not been brought before the Council. I am not sorry that that was not introduced for it would have met with the same fate with which Sir Arthur Knapp's Bill met. For practically, it was a mere reproduction of the former Bill with some provisions more injurious to the interests of the people.

"Then, the next subject to which I wish to draw attention of the Government and particularly of my hon. Friend Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, is one which is a very hoary subject, a subject which I as a young man was hearing and which has more or less been engaging the attention of the whole of India for about a century, if I may say so. That is the separation of the judicial and executive functions. Ever since the year 1833 when Sir F. J. Haliday made his famous proposal regarding the necessity for the separation of the judicial and the executive functions, this important question has been before the country and before the Legislative Councils and it has been engaging the attention of the people. Now, it may seem very strange to those that are not acquainted with the system in India, for instance the Lawyers in England, that it is the executive officers themselves who very often as magistrates and judicial officers dispose of cases which they have investigated directly, very often indirectly, as executive officers. The system is anomalous and offends against the fundamental and basic principles of British Jurisprudence. It is this system that has been prevailing here. Long after the Minute of Haliday, a memorial signed by very influential persons was submitted to the Secretary of State for India in the year 1889, a memorial signed by Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garret, Sir Richard Couch and many others. Many of these gentlemen were Judges of the Calcutta High Court, and the memorial was sent for enquiry and report to the Government of India. It was then circulated to the local Governments. But no progress has been made since then. Sir Harvey Adamson, who was a Judge of the Rangoon Chief Court and was subsequently a member of the Government of India and the Executive Council of the Viceroy, also from his place in the Council advocated the necessity for the reform. And afterwards, Sir Abdur Rahim in his dissenting minute to the Report of the Public Service Commission also advocated the reform. The late Mr. Romesh Chund Dutt devoted a considerable portion of his energy to the discussion of this subject and tried to convince the Government that this was a desirable reform. As a matter of fact, this Government, I understand, have made recommendations to the Government of India. This Government appointed a Committee presided over by a District Judge, Mr. Coleridge, and they have submitted a report. My friend, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, often has said on the floor of this House that reports were made by this Government to the Government of India.

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The correspondence was not always divulged to the House, but I believe that if this Government make a persistent and insistent demand upon the Government of India for effecting this very much desired reform, it will become an accomplished fact."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The hon. Member is exceeding his time limit."

* Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—"All right, Sir, I shall sit down."

* Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"May I stand there (pointing to the front Opposition Benches) and address, Sir."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"Oh, yes, you may do so."

* Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"I hope they are not untouchable" (Laughter.)

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The benches are not untouchables."

Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"Nor are the members who sit there."

"Mr. President, Sir, my Friend Mr. Krishnan Nayar has spoken generally on the budget. I would rather begin from the bottom. I shall address a few words as regards the ryot population and the labourers. It is well known so far as my districts are concerned that they are all within the famine zone, and nobody knows that better than the hon. Mr. Moir. They have been suffering from a chronic state of scarcity, especially Bellary and Anantapur, for the last so many years. My Friend may perhaps not be responsible for that. They have increased the land assessment by two per cent on the dry lands, black cotton as well as red soil. If Mr. Moir deserves to be remembered by the ryot population with gratitude, it is for the equitable settlement he made so many years ago in the Cuddapah district. It is a sad tale ever since there has been enhancement only in the land settlements. It has never been the case with the Government to reduce according to the needs of the people and I am afraid knowing the condition of the Ceded Districts as they do they have increased the tax by two annas for the wet and dry lands. I am sorry they have not, so far as my district is concerned—I have stated this so often in the House and the addresses presented to the hon. the Members and the hon. the Ministers that no irrigation project worth the name has been constructed after the advent of the British Rule. I am speaking subject to correction by the hon. the Irrigation Member. Of course, they have been promising us the Tungabhadra Project. The hon. Member has been pleased to tell us that he would appoint a special staff to investigate and enable the Government to carry out a scheme. It may not be productive of large profits to the Government but it will protect the people of the districts who are known to be a sturdy class of peasants. It would have gladdened even Miss Mayo if she had seen our peasantry; they are tall, stalwart men and women, who are suffering for lack of water, because the Government has not done its duty. I am afraid unless the Tungabhadra Project is brought into operation, sooner or later, these districts with their sturdy population would be more or less a mere desert if not a forest. I do not think that it will become a forest as it is said to have been in the time of Ramayana, as we have scarcity of rain. That will be the consequences of the Government's negligence of a primary duty."

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" Another thing I have to urge is the illiteracy of the people. There ^{11-30 a.m.} once used to be pial schools. No doubt, ever since the Reforms were introduced the Government are accelerating the pace of elementary education. Consequently, illiteracy has been somewhat reduced. The percentage of literacy among women is said to be 3 per cent and that among men and women is said to be about 19 per cent. This includes vernacular educated also. The danger in the people being allowed to remain illiterate is that they are very easily exploited and tyrannized over by the officials and the village officers.

" Sir, during the famine times, the labouring classes are obliged to quit their homes in search of employment elsewhere. The Government no doubt try to give them employment and I must acknowledge it. But I find that the wages paid on these works are insufficient and have several times pleaded in this House on behalf of the famine coolies. A committee was appointed to consider this question, but the majority of the members being officials we were not able to do much in that direction. It is on account of insufficient wages paid for famine works that many people emigrated to Assam lured by higher wages, of whom some were brought back while others were not. I am sure if there is sufficient water-supply and irrigation sources in these famine areas these sufferings will disappear.

" As regards the depressed classes that is always a grave question that stares us in the face. Even now—of course I do not blame anybody—after 150 years or more of British rule in many villages the depressed classes have no wells. No doubt the Government have been giving grants during the last few years for this purpose and some wells are being dug. But the difficulty is that these grants are not given in time. They are given too late in the year for the local bodies to carry out the works. The Labour department is also entrusted with the funds for the purpose. The local bodies have got the estimates ready for wells in many villages, but necessary funds are not given in time to enable them to engage the necessary establishment. We will be able to digest any amount of money if granted to us early in the year. The depressed classes in Bellary and Anantapur are suffering very much for want of water and this makes them depend on the mercy of the caste people who have wells. And, if the depressed classes do not act according to the wishes of the caste people, they are denied water. This accounts for insanitation and so many diseases in the districts. The Government have neglected their duty in this respect. I should not be surprised if I am not fully justified in making this statement, I had no time to look into the budget memorandum, because it was dumped on us only yesterday. Further I am not a financial expert. All I can do is to state our wants and our difficulties and narrate our grievances as I have done so often and I hope I will continue to do it until you redress our grievances. The depressed classes have suffered not only on account of local caste prejudice and tyranny, but also more I should say, through the neglect of the Government in not providing for their water-supply and education. It is the duty of the Government to take steps, as my hon. Friend Mr. Moir put it the other day, to give them the benefit of the three R's.

" Now, after the advent of the Reforms, special schools have been started for the depressed classes in some of the outlying villages. But in the towns and in the middle schools where they are admitted the caste feeling is wearing out. Unless the Government encourage them by giving them more

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scholarships they would not be able to make much headway. There is a rule enforced by the Labour department that students above a certain age should not be given the benefit of scholarships. Sir, the poorer classes take to reading and writing only when they are a little advanced in age. They ought to be encouraged by Government and therefore these restrictions ought to be removed.

"In the matter of secondary education the rules are very strict. In particular cases they would not allow even the IV form to be opened even though the people were willing to finance it for two or three years. I am anxious to say many more things, but I am afraid the hon. the President is nodding his head and I must sit down."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The hon. Member has five minutes more."

"Diwan Bahadur P. KESAVA PILLAI :—"Thank you, Sir. I am glad that the question of education is receiving more liberal treatment at the hands of the Government than hitherto although they will be able to do so only if the hon. the Finance Member is kind enough to place more funds at the disposal of the hon. Minister for Education. The Government have to make contributions for village sanitation and village roads. In some cases they make the grants only at the end of the year with the result that the local bodies are unable to finish the work before the end of the year and before the funds lapse. If specific grants are made every year instead of the doles, the local bodies would be able to do better. As it is, the local bodies are not certain of getting the doles and so they do not employ the necessary staff in advance for spending it. Formerly the Government used to give special grants for constructing culverts over second and third class roads, for removing prickly-pear in the villages and for other sanitary purposes and digging wells. They are not doing so now for some years. The doles which they now give are very unsatisfactory.

"In this connexion I may make a few observations about the trunk roads and second-class roads. When we ask the Government to make a grant for including roads under the second class, and improving them, to meet the commercial needs of the locality, the Government say that they have no objection to extend the mileage but that they would limit their grants to a certain amount. I ask, when the boards are willing to spend money on roads classified as second class, why should they be refused an equal amount as grant by the Government?

"There are many other subjects on which I would like to speak, but I propose giving notice of budget motions to raise a debate on them in order, not to antagonize the Government, but to enlist their sympathy and get money from them.

"I wish to say a word about the Forest department. The forest panchayats have come into existence after a good deal of agitation. There was a special department looking after it and the officers thereof were going about the villages instructing the people to take special interest in panchayat work. Now, I learn that it is proposed by the Revenue Board to abolish this special department and transfer the working of the forest panchayats to the Revenue department. This will greatly discourage the people. For, they are just learning the work. The Government is levying a contribution from these forest panchayats and sometimes this contribution is beyond the means of these bodies. Till recently each head of cattle had to pay 3 annas

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or 4 annas as seigniorage, but now it has been raised to 12 annas. In my opinion, it must be left to the discretion of the forest panchayats to levy as much as they please, limiting it, if necessary, by prescribing a minimum below which they should not reduce it. A limit may seem necessary because there are influential people who would send all their cattle for grazing to the detriment of the poorer ryots. However, as it affects a large number of shepherds and the poorer ryots, it is better to allow them to reduce the seigniorage when they think it proper to do so. I would appeal to the Member in charge to consider this subject.

"Coming next to the Jail department I wish to say this. We are supposed to be always improving the jail administration ever since the Jail Commission came into existence. There is one great wrong done to the inmates of the jails in the matter of their diet. The dhal supplied to them is soaked in water previous night and then it is ground and cooked the next day. The doctors say that it is very healthy for the people to soak the dhal and grind it into a paste and then cook it and eat. But the prisoners have a horror for this thing served to them. Of course, if you force them to take it, they must. It has a repulsive flavour. Of course, the hon. Gentleman in charge of Jails might not have tasted it. The poor prisoners have to taste it and suffer. They cannot avoid taking it with all its noxious smell. My hon. Friend does not take dhal in that fashion. I do not take it. Why should the prisoners eat it because the doctors say it is good? Doctors might say many things. In a case of this kind, you must consult the taste of the people who have to take it. What is declared to be good medically may not agree to the taste of the people. What is agreeable to the taste will be digestible. (Laughter from the Treasury Benches.) I am appealing to the hon. Member to kindly look into the matter and remove this grievance. They cannot complain while in prison and it is only when they come out that they are able to make their complaints known. Sir, as I have already exceeded my time, I resume my seat."

* Rao Bahadur B. MUNISWAMI NAYUDU :—"Sir, I am glad that we are presented with a prosperous budget. We are now at a time when the Govern-¹¹⁻⁴⁵ment of India have completely given up the iniquitous impost, with the result that though the budget is termed a deficit budget it is really not a deficit budget. If we take credit for the 48 lakhs given up by the Central Government, then we cannot say that we have a deficit budget. Now it is the duty of the Council and the Government to consider what should be the future policy with regard to the large surpluses that are accruing year after year, especially this year and last year. We are thankful to the hon. the Finance Member for the analysis he has given at page 8 of his memorandum on the growth of revenue and expenditure from 1920-21 to 1926-27. And in the third column he shows the increase of receipts over expenditure every year. We find 412 lakhs for 1920-21, 280 lakhs for 1921-22, 339 lakhs for 1922-23, 360 lakhs for 1923-24, 324 lakhs for 1924-25, 298 lakhs for 1925-26, and 256 for 1926-27, and it is proposed to utilize from revenue 23.33 lakhs towards capital expenditure leaving the net revenue closing balance at 239.05 for 1928-29.

"Thus it will be seen from the above that the increased taxation levied during the last six years is not necessary in view of the fact that we are having a large surplus. Now that the iniquitous impost has been released

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and that the cause for the increase in taxation has disappeared, what is our duty? We are representing millions of rate-payers and it is our duty to see that the increased taxation that had been imposed under extraordinary circumstances should be wiped out without any further delay. We have urged that the stamp and court fee duties should be lowered to the rates prevailing in 1920-21. At page 9 it is shown that the income due to additional taxation under the head of Stamps is 47 lakhs only which may easily be given up.

"Sir, it has been a matter of practical experience that the raising of taxation under the head of Court-fees has very seriously told upon the clients and the suitors in courts. It is admitted that so far as the Judicial Department is concerned it yields a large surplus. We were assured that the question will be gone into carefully at the last budget; but two years have passed and we have not heard anything in that direction. I hope the hon. the Law Member will be able to tell us, before he lays down his office, what he proposes to do. So far as the hon. the Finance Member is concerned, he does not say anything on that topic. He says that the court-fees in Small Cause Courts will be reduced; but that does not go a long way towards relieving the hardship of the court-going population.

"Then, Sir, coming to the provision made for rural areas, we find that it has been a cry in the wilderness. Something should be done to ameliorate the condition of the poor agriculturists. At least something like 50 lakhs should be earmarked so that it may be utilized as a fund for the amelioration of the poor ryots. Such a proposal is said to be under the consideration of the Government; but alas! the year 1927 has passed away and as far as we know no steps have been taken to fructify this idea. I hope that the proposal will find favour with the Government and I trust the hon. the Minister for Local Self-Government will see that a decent amount is allotted for this purpose.

"I now come to another topic where it has been our unfortunate experience, whether it is deliberate or otherwise on the part of the Government, that the interests of the Andhra districts have been overlooked. (Hear, hear.) Great expectations were held out to us. The Andhra University was established, a Vice-Chancellor was appointed and promises were lavishly made, but what do we find? In the budget a pittance of one lakh of rupees is made for the University. Sir, we have very grave misgivings that the Act is to be made a dead letter; at any rate the attitude of the Chief Minister is such as to give rise to no hopes at all. We have as many as 14 Amendment Bills so far as the Andhra University Act is concerned. The Andhras after sinking all their differences have come to a unanimous conclusion, but the Minister for Education and the Expert Member for Education wrote dissenting minutes, with the result that a serious internecine quarrel between one section of the Andhra districts and the other has been set up.

"I come now to the Reserved department I have to tell a similar tale the indifferent attitude of the Government towards the Ceded districts, which is practically a famine area. We have no protective or productive irrigation works. While the backward districts are suffering from famine conditions, the Government are engaged in the construction of the Mettur project, and the hon. the Law Member, when asked to adopt measures to alleviate the suffering of the famished peasants, says that the funds do not permit. I ask, Sir, what is the urgency with regard to the Mettur project?

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Is it the policy of the Government to enrich the districts that are already rich and ignore the famine-stricken taluks? I submit, Sir, there is no hope for the backward tracts of the Andhra province so long as the mentality of the powers that be is to enrich the richer and leave the poor to shift for themselves.

"With regard to brick and mortar we find that large amounts are proposed to be spent on buildings and other works to the prejudice of nation-building activities. The hon. the Finance Member has allotted more than one crore in excess under this head. I submit, Sir, that the Government should not adopt such a course but make all provision for improving the means of communication, housing and other things, to be met out of capital. I again say, Sir, with all respect to the Government, that they do not realize the condition and the position of the poor.

"I am glad, Sir, I hope hon. Members of this House will share with me in that joy, when I say that registration charges have been reduced to pre-war rates.

"But that is nothing. For what should guide us in determining whether the Ministers have done their duty is how far they have been a benefit to the country. Applying this test I would say they have not done their duty. We expect them to use their position to reduce the heavy burden on the poor ryot in the shape of increased stamp duties.

"Lastly, I come to an important question. We have been dubbed a party of communalists, a party of job-hunters and title-hunters. It has been announced from your place, Sir, by no less a person than the Governor that there must be a better outlook as far as the political programmes are concerned. I ask, Sir, what exactly has the policy of the Government been to check this communal evil? I may say, with certain amount of responsibility and deliberation on the floor of this House, that rank communalism is obtaining to-day—what do we find?—people who pose themselves as nationalists, as patriots, while abusing others who agitate for a more adequate share in the administration of the country, they themselves under the cloak of nationalism are doing everything to consolidate their community. (Hear, hear.) Thanks to the shortsightedness of a series of Governors, the office of the Law Member for the last eighteen years has been filled by the monopolist class and these years have been sufficient to consolidate their position. We have been asking for the appointment of a Muslim as a High Court Judge—we asked for bread and we are given stone. I will leave the matter to the Muhammadans to settle. We have been urging for direct recruitment of District Judges to remove the inequality, but not a single member outside the monopolist community was appointed."

MR. K. ABDUL HYE:—"What did you do for the Muhammadans when you were in power?"

RAO BAHADUR B. MUNISWAMI NAYUDU:—"I know that the hon. Member will repeat the same question to the hon. Member who will reply to this point ^{12 noon.}

"There is over-representation of one community in the cadre of the District Judges and ever since 1921 we have been pressing to bring the proportion down by at least direct recruitment. The answer was 'No.' But

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towards the end of the term of the hon. the Law Member, he gives a chance to one of his juniors to go as a District Judge and I am sure he will be confirmed before he lays down his office. All glory to these gentlemen! I only say, Sir, that the feeling in the country among the non-Brahmans of all shades of opinion is so strong that they consider that just as it was said that there was no Government for a few hours on the 3rd of February in the City of Madras, so it appears there was no Governor in this province for the last three years, and the Government was the Government of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar with Lord Goschen as his chief. I hope that hereafter at least there will be better times and that when His Excellency the Governor lays down his office he will earn the goodwill of the non-Brahman communities and not leave them disgusted and sullen."

* Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR :—"Mr. President, Sir, the budget for the current year is a very interesting study. The hon. the Finance Member is a veteran in the art of budget-making; he unites to the power of lucid presentment and clear marshalling of figures the skill to indicate the forces at work behind them. I wish to dwell on one or two of these, emphasising the human element. There is a maxim: *Salus populi, lex suprema* which, for my present purposes, I may paraphrase as meaning that the contentment and the welfare of the people ought to be the primary concern of a Government. With this ideal in view if we examine the budget we find that although the provincial revenue estimated by the Financial Relations Committee at 2·28 lakhs has increased and although the remission of the contributions has enabled us to cover up deficits and balance our budgets, I must say that we have not made an effective contribution to the welfare of the masses. All services exist and function for their sake. All our borrowings and all our commitments are for their benefit and therefore when there is a remission of provincial contributions which gives us a balance there ought to be a reduction in taxation, beginning first of all with the land tax. In this connexion it is gratifying to note that the registration fees have been reduced to the pre-war level. But what about the court-fees and non-judicial stamps, the enhancement of which was declared to be a temporary measure? I think I can detect a faint, a lingering note of regret in the remarks of the hon. the Finance Member: 'I might here mention that an improvement under Registration parallel to that shown under Stamps might have been expected, but as a result of the reduction of registration fees to the pre-war level and of fees for attendance at private residences from Rs. 20 to Rs. 15 there will be a net fall in revenue amounting to Rs. 64 lakh this year.'

"As regards Excise there is an increase in the consumption of liquor and there is no indication of any serious attempt made to wean the masses from the evil of drink by providing counter-attractions for them and by propaganda on an extensive scale. Even though prohibition is introduced in a limited area the success of that measure will depend on the zeal of the temperance workers and reformers and the inducements given to the drinking class to get away from the habit in the shape of facilities for innocent amusements and by propaganda work and by creating a healthy social opinion. When the hon. the Finance Member says that 'Excise contributed an additional Rs. 24·68 lakhs and this increase was due mainly to larger shop rentals and some increase in the consumption of arrack,' one may well realize the tragic significance of the admission.

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"Thirdly another method of affording relief to the people is by removing illiteracy. I know that the Government are doing their best to promote the spread of elementary education; but as the hon. the Finance Member himself admits this extension of elementary education has not been very satisfactory since 'the department continues to suffer from the chronic difficulty of securing qualified teachers for elementary schools.' This question has been under consideration for the past ten years and certainly it was within the competence of wise and judicious statesmanship to provide, by a system of liberal grants for the opening of training schools in different parts of the presidency for the progressive realization of this object, namely, the formation of a sufficient body of trained teachers, to be put in charge of schools when they are opened. I hope that the hon. the Minister for Education who is introducing the Education Bill will see to the speedy removal of this great stain on the fair name of the country, namely, the illiteracy of the masses and their incapacity to develop political consciousness for discharging their duties as citizens.

"Coming to the services, some remarks have been made with regard to the expenditure. The revenue of the province has been rising, but the expenditure has been rising still higher and one circumstance that has contributed to it is the incremental scale of pay of the Government servants. The hon. the Finance Member says apologetically: 'We cannot deny to Government servants the increments to which they are entitled under time-scales of pay . . . Every year since our financial position improved, we have been making large additions to cadres and creating new posts almost all on incremental scales.' May I ask why they rushed through the revision of the scales of pay before the introduction of the Reforms and why this task was not entrusted to the Council which in the matter of the votable items would have cut the coat according to the cloth? In spite of repeated reference to this point, are we justified in regarding this as belonging to the past? I think that it is not even now too late for this Council to go through the question of the revision of salaries with retrenchments here and there and some increases in the case of the low-paid servants and arrive at a certain scale which will free us from this financial incubus. I do not think that the last word has been said on the system of the incremental scale of pay. It is still possible for us to replace this by a graded system of pay, provided thereby no hardship is caused to the holders of appointments at present. Let us see whether there has been any improvement in efficiency and purity of administration. We find admissions here and there which show that this arrangement has not really made for efficiency.

"Coming now to the question of extensions and improvements to irrigation, drainage works, etc., their importance has been admitted. At the same time we are told that the decrease under irrigation was due to the lag in the expenditure on extensions, improvements and maintenance. We are told that the decrease was mainly due to delays in the preparation and sanctioning of detailed plans and estimates and to unseasonal rains which hampered progress, and that the short expenditure on works resulted in a decrease in establishment charges. We are also told that the progress of the work was not satisfactory. One cannot help remarking *cui bono*! Of what use are the services of officers who are maintained at a high cost to the general taxpayer. . . ."

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The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The hon. Member has already exceeded the time limit."

* Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR :—"As regards the Mettur project I am glad that this question has been referred to. But I must admit to my hon. Friend Mr. Muniswami Nayudu that the Tanjore district which is supposed to be very rich has been neglected for a long time from the point of view of irrigation. But from a study of statistics it would be found that the incidence of taxation presses very hard on the people of that district and this project is a work which was long due and which has been taken up now. Even there I am sorry that it has been delayed by the department which had to wait for salutary lessons to the unprecedented floods of 1924. I hope hereafter the work would be pushed very vigorously."

"Mr. President, Sir, you will allow me one minute to say a few words about rural sanitation, village communication and water-supply to which my hon. Friend Mr. Kesava Pillai referred very eloquently. I shall not abuse your indulgence. The prosperity of people, three-fourths of whom live in villages, depends upon this question of village communication, rural sanitation and water-supply. I find, Sir, that grants are allotted for these purposes, and that, at the same time, large amounts of these grants are lapsing. My hon. Friend Mr. Kesava Pillai said that his department was not suffering from indigestion and that plans and estimates were ready. So, there is something rotten in the State of Denmark. What do we find? Owing to want of proper readjustment of relations between the executive and the various local bodies, are the rural people to suffer by the grants which have been allotted lapsing through the mistake of those responsible for their welfare? Are the poor people to continue to be subject to all those inconveniences like their fathers of old? I think, Sir, it is necessary for the Government to overhaul the machinery or oil the machinery and to think of better means of affording relief to these poor people; they should not lose time; they should, without any hesitation or further delay, see that some method or device is adopted and that these much needed improvements are forthwith carried out for the benefit of the people. This will undoubtedly depend on the allotment of more and more grants for these purposes and their proper utilization."

* Mr. B. RAMACHANDRA REDDI :—"Mr. President, Sir, though I must at the outset express my satisfaction at the complete picture, that was furnished by the hon. the Finance Member, of the budget, I must tell him that it is in no way an agreeable picture. It has been bedecked with numerous figures so much so the entire form has been disfigured. I mean that no definite policy has been put forth by this budget, as regards the expenditure of the revenues for future years, especially in a year in which the provincial contribution has been completely wiped off. It is high time to think of a fixed policy which the Government should put forth before this Council. It has not been done. It is quite indicative of the fact that the Cabinet do not find nowadays ample time for discussing problems of far-reaching importance; it shows evidently the combustion that is taking place within the Cabinet about which I hope to say something more later on. The hon. the Finance Member has stated that the departments are suffering from indigestion. This department's indigestion seems to have gone up to the heads of departments also."

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"For instance, Sir, taking the transferred departments we know how many supplementary grants were proposed to be moved last year in this Council, but somehow or other they have been withdrawn. That shows that they were quite willing to bring them before this House for sanction and for the benefit of the country or that they were feeling themselves too weak to bring them before this House and get them passed. That is a position which nobody can appreciate. Several lakhs of rupees that were available last year were not spent for the good of the country. It is quite plain that the indigestion of the departmental heads seems to have begotten peevishness and as usual peevishness begets quarrelsomeness. The earlier that state of affairs is rectified the better for the administration of this province.

"Taking the transferred departments and their working I would point out how inadequate is the attention paid to them first by the Government and secondly by the heads that are administering them. I was promised on the floor of this House that the excise policy would be given a new turn for the good of the country; it was actually accepted on the floor of the House that prohibition should be reached within the course of 20 years. But what do we find at the end of the first year? There is an excess of revenue from excise by nearly four lakhs of rupees. After two years out of 20 years, the period of our goal that was put before us, we have not been going forward with the policy of prohibition; on the other hand we are going backward with the policy of increasing our excise revenue. That shows that the Excise Minister has not been quite serious in his attempts to reach the goal of prohibition; that shows that he is completely unable to put forward any tangible policy before his colleagues. What do we find to-day? It was promised very boldly that prohibition would be tried in two districts in the Presidency; one of them, it was stated, would be Nellore district. I am disappointed to see in this year's budget the provision made for increasing the number of Circle Inspectors in the district of Nellore; a sum of Rs. 24,000 has been made for building quarters and offices for two Circle Inspectors in the Nellore district? Is it going towards prohibition?

"With regard to the hon. the Chief Minister who has got two big portfolios, Education and Local Self Government. . . ."

The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Minister is not here; the hon. Member may offer his remarks some time later."

* MR. B. RAMACHANDRA REDDI:—"The hon. the Minister of Development has not so far indicated any of his forward ideas. In all the departments of which he is the head he has not shown any progress worth the name. Except for the appointment of a few Demonstrators here or a few Veterinary Assistant Surgeons there—their number has been increased lately—there is no progressive policy indicated so far as the budget is concerned.

"The Fisheries Department which, I think, can be compared to the Forest Department is becoming a bugbear on the provincial revenues and year after year the expenditure on the department is immensely increasing. For instance, turning to the Budget Memorandum you will find that the expenditure on the Fisheries Department has increased from Rs. 5 lakhs to Rs. 7 lakhs and I may assure the House that there is no proportionate

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advantage accruing out of that department. It has been for several years a separate department and it is high time to close it as a separate department. On the other hand such an important department as the Industries department is, I may point out, neglected and neglected perhaps wilfully. The most important industry, viz., the textile industry is given a very secondary consideration and I hope to discuss the matter at great length at a later stage when we will be discussing the demands.

22-30 P.m. "As regards the activities of the Labour department I wish to say a few words. It has been advertised very much by the Government that the Labour department has been established separately for the uplift of the labouring and depressed classes in the mufassal. I must say, Sir, that in my district the policy has been given effect to. An officer has been appointed separately to look after those classes; but the paucity of the powers given to the officer is patent enough and it stands in the way of progress. It stands in the way of distribution of lands to the depressed classes; it stands in the way of giving more schools and more education to the depressed classes; the officer has to consult so many departments and obtain the orders of many other departments before he could satisfy the aspirations of those classes.

"For instance, for the last 15 years there is a plot of land, nearly one thousand acres, which has been promised to be given to the depressed classes. It has been promised for the last 15 years to be given to them, but until now, Government have not done so. The people have waited with patience so long and impatience is now setting in. As far as my information goes, the Revenue Department is quite ready with all the names and the list of members to whom these lands are going to be given. But without irrigation facilities there is no use giving the lands. The inconsistency of the Government is standing in the way of the people as also the weakness of the people themselves. A recent Government Order points out that lands having first-class irrigation sources should not be given free of cost. If a land that has been promised for the last 15 years to be given free of cost, is now going to be charged something, it would be a burden upon the people of the depressed classes.

"I will mention a similar case. In a certain village about hundred and fifty acres which have been promised for the depressed classes are now to be sold, to be auctioned to the highest bidder as it were. This is another instance of the inconsistent attitude which the Government has taken. These show how kind they are to the depressed classes. I will therefore tell my hon. friends here who represent the depressed classes that they should not simply put implicit faith in the words of the Government, but they should take care of themselves and agitate more and more for themselves. Nobody will give if we do not ask. I hope my hon. Friends who represent the depressed classes in the House will take a lesson from these things. They should not go too much low before the Government. They must fight out boldly and demand their rights, not beg for them.

"Last but not least, I will point out a few instances which are of interest in the policy pursued by the hon. the Law Member. It has already been mentioned in this House, Sir, that the Telugu country has been completely neglected by the hon. the Law Member. Not only this year, but several times during his regime, he has been reminded of the fact that the taluks

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of the Telugu country have been receiving secondary attention from him. The question of the Tungabhadra project which has come before this House several times is still an undecided one. Further, Sir, the question of communal quarrels which has marred his regime is one that has to be settled by the Government interference; and there is no use setting one community against another so as to keep the administration of the country quite safe while these communities are fighting between themselves. So far, the hon. the Law Member who is on the eve of his departure has not given us any appreciable results of his régime. No attempt has been made to improve the lot and the status of the subordinate police officials. No trial has so far been made to send up young and energetic police officers for training in C.I.D. work. The only attempt that has been made is to train them in Finger Printing. This is a very small one, and what is needed in the country is an efficient C.I.D. for investigating crimes that are increasing in numbers. He has also indicated his want of respect for the popular feeling of the country by refusing to give effect to the resolution which has been passed by this House several times demanding the release of Mr. M. P. Narayana Menon. Also, several times, the question of a Muslim Judge or a Non-Brahman Judge, or the question of the services in general for other communities than the Brahman community have been brought up before this House but he has been disregarding all these. The only notable achievements in his regime are his double exodus to Geneva, England and Paris and lately his attractive activity in the organization of receptions to the Simon Commission. All these instances and his inability to carry through this House a successful and necessary irrigation policy show his inability to do justice not only to the country but to the seat he occupies."

* Mr. S. MUTTAYYA MUDALIYAR:—"The hon. Member for Malabar who started the budget discussion gave us a gloomy account of the budget, that there was a deficit and that if expenditure was above the income it must land us in insolvency. On the other hand, I would like to observe that there is an opening balance of 312 lakhs on which we may congratulate ourselves if it was the result of normal taxation and economy in expenditure. This surplus balance in the hands of any Government in normal circumstances, if it is due to the normal course of administration and not due to any heavy taxation will be quite welcome. I must say that this large surplus is the result of increased taxation in this Province during the last seven or eight years. The revenues of this Province, both Provincial and Central in the years 1920-21, from the figures I have is about 25 crores. For the years 1926-27 both Central and Provincial, about 29·14 crores. After the advent of the reforms, the increase in revenue was about 4·18 crores. If the result of the Reforms is to be judged by the result we have of the increase in revenue, certainly it will be no surprise if one hears that we have had enough of Reforms. Sir, the framers of the Reforms never intended it to be merely ornamental, but considered it a serious problem intended for the economic prosperity of the people of this land. A tree is to be judged by the fruit it bears and the Reforms, I trust were not intended to be mere foliage or ornamental trees. Now that the abnormal conditions that existed during the war no longer exist, one would like to see taxation reduced and brought to the pre-war level. These four crores of excess taxes have been paid by the tax-payer and it is no credit to the Government that after these seven years

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they have got a surplus balance of three crores in their hands. I think it is now at least time to think of reduction of taxation in various ways.

"During the adjournment motion that was made in this House five or six months ago, several suggestions were made for the utilization of the provincial contributions that were remitted. Some hon. Friends suggested the abolition of the excise duty, by successive stages. Some others suggested that land revenue ought to be decreased; others that court fees on judicial and non-judicial stamps ought to be reduced. Nothing has been done, and no definite plan has been laid out for the utilization of the remitted contribution. I hope that Government will chalk out a definite scheme for utilizing these provincial contributions for years to come.

"Mr. President, in the statement A, item 13, we have *minus* 51 lakhs. What is stated is that revenue is 6 lakhs and expenditure 57 lakhs. The hon. the Finance Member may say that this is an usual thing, and that any explanation or education he may give will not enlighten dull brains like mine. But we may ask the hon. the Finance Member why this 57 lakhs should not be really on the expenditure side and omitted altogether from statement A. If this is taken away from statement A, the revenues will be 17½ crores and not 17 crores or half a crore more. Both income and expenditure will be increased by half a crore.

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"One other thing regarding the budget I should like to place before the House, and the hon. the Finance Member might be able to say something in the matter. We have an elaborate system of auditing for all the expenditure of this province. There is the Accounts Committee of this House which goes into the accounts of expenses incurred. There is the Accountant-General, or the Auditor-General, who goes through all the expenses of the province and every pie of the money spent is being audited. But may I ask the hon. the Finance Member, as a matter of information, because I know very little about it, whether there is any system of auditing for the receipts of this province? Of course, the hon. the Finance Member will say in every taluk and in every district there is the revenue official who collects the taxes, there is the Collector who with the revenue subordinates under him sees that all the receipts are properly made. I find there is the Accountant-General or Auditor-General for the Local funds and he goes and inspects all the municipalities and district boards and sees whether all the sources of income of these bodies have been properly received. So, I ask, is it not necessary that all the sources of income of the Government are also audited by a superior officer, who is not responsible for the collection of revenues? There may be various items of revenue which may arise in a province or district, and probably through the oversight of the officials engaged in the work or due to negligence or some other cause, are likely to be omitted. I want to know whether there is any system of audit by which they can check these receipts and see that no item of income due has not been received or there have been no over receipts or under receipts. Probably there may be difficulties in carrying out this suggestion. But I should like to have some information on this matter.

"The hon. Member from Chittoor, Mr. Muniswami Nayudu, told us that Tanjore is the richest district in the province and a good deal of money is being thrown away on the Mettur project for the benefit of a single district,

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while other districts are being starved, and that his district does not get any water. May I say, before going into the merits of the matter, for the benefit of my hon. Friend Mr. Muniswami Nayudu as well as of other Members in the House, that the Tanjore district pays one-tenth of the whole revenue of the province. Normally speaking, it is expected to pay only one-twenty-sixth of the revenue, but it pays 75 lakhs in land revenue alone which is one-tenth of the whole land revenue of the province. When Tanjore district pays one-tenth of the total revenues may I not ask why this district should not be entitled to one-tenth of the expenditure of this province? I think Tanjore deserves considerably more than what is now spent on it.

“ May I in this connexion refer to the deltaic system of other districts which are taking away a good deal of money for maintenance, whereas Tanjore district is being absolutely neglected. If these things be taken into consideration and if continued neglect for the last 20 or 30 years of the irrigation and drainage systems of this district be taken into account, it should naturally follow that more money should be allotted to Tanjore district for the maintenance of its irrigation and drainage systems, which have been absolutely neglected. And so, hon. Members of this House will not grudge any indulgence to the Tanjore district, if I ask for more money to be spent on it. But certainly I am not going to dwell on the various grievances in regard to this district in this discussion; it is probably better to reserve them for another occasion.

“ As I have already said, the reforms have been in work for about seven years and an inquiry is to go on now for the variation of the reforms. I would suggest that the result of the reforms in whatever form it may be, ought to be such that the people may begin to appreciate it. I am not going to dwell on any theoretical principles as to diarchy or provincial autonomy or centralization of subjects or transfer of subjects. But I will only say that whatever you do, the ordinary man in the street, the tax-payer should receive the full benefit of it. Any man who knows nothing about the Government or the constitution by which he is governed should be able to see that there is some change for the better and that he is happier than before. This ought to be the aim of the reforms. Certainly, people who are in charge of the reforms should see that the reforms are of such a nature as to bring the benefits home to the poorest citizen of this province. I do submit again that this Government ought to take steps to see that the increased taxation which has been imposed on this province from the year 1921 is reduced. In January 1927, I applied for sanction to introduce a Bill to reduce the court fees. I was told then that this matter would receive the serious consideration of the Government after the budget; but immediately the budget was over, I received a letter saying that the Governor has refused the sanction. May I ask the hon. the Law Member why sanction was refused? Is this not a matter which has been debated in this House during budget discussions and on other occasions more than a dozen times, and has not the Law Member told us that steps would be taken to see that stamp duties and court fees are all reduced, and that this was also under the consideration of the Central Government? This Government, in spite of its assurances, have not of their own accord taken any steps to reduce, and when a private Member of this House gave notice of a Bill for the reduction of taxation, sanction was refused. May I ask, in the face of the assurance given to this

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House, whether the Law Member is justified in advising the Governor not to give sanction? I am saying this not in a spirit of criticism but with a view that Government may hereafter at least take steps to see that the general stamp duties and the judicial stamp duties are all reduced.

"There is one other thing. The largest portion of the revenues of this province is derived from land. We have now had a remission of the provincial contributions completely which comes to Rs. 3.48 crores. During the Budget discussion last year, I dwelt on the large expenditure on the Settlement and Survey departments, and that the net profit derived by the operation of these two departments was not at all commensurate with the expenditure provided under these departments. The hon. the Revenue Member, I am glad to say, was kind enough to admit that these departments were not maintained so much for bringing in any profits to Government as for the purpose of preserving the record of rights, for noting the transactions going on between one man and another in respect of the lands belonging to them. May I suggest that all these works which I do admit are absolutely necessary for the ryots to get on, might well be carried out through the Revenue department and the Registration department. If these two departments, the Survey and Settlement, are done away with, you would get over one of the serious criticisms levelled against Government. In spite of the recommendations of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the Government have not taken any effective step to introduce a Land Revenue Bill. If the Survey and Settlement departments are done away with and this item of expenditure which comes to nearly 25 lakhs is also deleted, the net profit to Government, in the course of 20 or 30 years, will come to 6 or 7 crores, the interest on which will be more than the increase in revenue. All these figures I gave last year, and I do not think it is necessary to go into them now. As I said, the hon. the Revenue Member was good enough to admit that these departments were not worth the trouble and money spent on them. What I wish to say is, considering the large opening balance in the current year and considering that the provincial contributions have been taken off, will it be too much to ask that the tax on land be reduced by 10 per cent or 15 per cent and a permanent settlement introduced for ever. So that we may not have this feeling among the people that the land tax is being constantly raised. I must also like to convey to the Government that at present most of the population of this province live on agricultural income, and most of the landowners, more than 85 per cent, are small landowners, whose income from land is absolutely insufficient for keeping their body and soul together. Before starting on any schemes of expenditure of the provincial contributions I trust these matters will receive some consideration at the hands of the Government. Probably, on the next occasion when the Budget is presented, I hope we will have the satisfaction of hearing that the Government have made serious attempts to reduce taxation and have reduced taxation. With these few words, I close my remarks."

Swami A. S. SAHAJANANDAM :—“ஆதி திராவிடர்களின் இராஜ விசுவாசம்.—கனம் தலைவரவர்களே! நாங்கள் தொன்றுதொட்டு இராஜ விசுவாசக் குடிகளா யிருந்துவருகிறோம். எப்பொழுது ஈஸ்ட் இந்தியா கம்பெனி இந்தியாவுக்கு வந்ததோ அப்பொழுது முதல் அரசு

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சர்வகத்திற்கு பெரிதும் உதவிபுரிந்திருக்கிறோம். லார்ட் கிளைவ் இந்தியாவைக் கைப்பற்றும்போது நாங்கள் அவருக்குத் துணையாகவிருந்து இரத்தம் சிந்தி யிருக்கிறோம். இடையில் கலகம் நேரிட்டபோதெல்லாம் அரசாங்கத்திற்குத் துணையாகவிருந்து கலகங்களை யெதிர்த்திருக்கிறோம். சமீபத்தில் நடைபெற்ற மகா யுத்தத்தில் எனது வகுப்பினர் அநேகர் சென்று மாண்டனர். சத்தியாக்கிரகம் தோன்றியபோது எங்கள் நாட்டுச் சகோதரர்களை எதிர்த்தோம். தற்போது வந்திருக்கும் இராயல் கமிஷனை வரவேற்பதாக மகாநாடுகள் மூலமாகத் தீர்மானித்தோம். இந்த மகாசபையாகிய சென்னை அரசாங்க சட்டசபையில் இராயல் கமிஷனை பகிஷ்காரச் செய்யுந் தீர்மானத்தை எங்கள் நாட்டுச் சகோதரர்கள் எல்லாக் கஷ்பினரும் ஏகோபித்துக் கொண்டுவந்தபொழுது இந்திய மக்களில் பெரும்பான்மையோருக்கு விரோதமாக பகிஷ்காரச் தீர்மானத்தை யெதிர்த்தோம். சென்ற மாதம் மூன்றாந்தேதி நடைபெற்ற ஹர்த்தால் போர்து எங்களில் ஒருவனைப் பளிகொடுத்தோம். நேற்றும் இராயல் கமிஷனிடன் சென்று நல்வரவு கூறினோம். ஆங்கிலேய துரைமக்கள் கப்பலைவிட்டு இந்தியாவில் காலை வைப்பதுமுதல் நாங்கள் அவர்களுக்கு அந்தாங்க பந்துக்களாக நின்று உணவு சமைத்துக் கொடுத்தல், அவர்கள் வீட்டுக் காரியங்களை நடத்தி வருகிறோம். அவர்கள் குழந்தைகளுக்கு எங்கள் தாய்மார்கள் பால் கொடுத்து வளர்க்கிறார்கள். இந்தியாவில் பிறந்த ஆங்கில மக்கள் எங்கள் பாலைக் குடித்தே வளர்கின்றார்கள் என்பது மிகையாகாது. இவ்வாறு அவர்கள் தங்கள் தாய் நாடாகிய இங்கிலாந்திற்குச் செல்லுமளவும் உதவிபுரிந்து வருகிறோம். இந்தியாவில் இவர்களுக்கு மிகவும் உதவிபுரிந்து வருபவர்களில் தலையாயார் எவராயிருப்பவரெனின் அவர்கள் ஏனையரால் தீண்டாத மக்களென்று சொல்லப்படும் ஆதி இந்துக்களேயாம். யாங்கள் இவ்வாறு இராஜ விசுவாசக் குடிகளாயிருந்துவருகிறோம்.

“பிரிடிஷ் ஆட்சி இந்தியாவில் தோன்றி 150 வருஷகாலமாகியும் இராஜ விசுவாசக் குடிகளாகிய நாங்கள் கல்விபெறாமல் பழைய அந்தகாரத்திலேயே மூழ்கியிருக்கிறோம். அப்பொழுதிருந்த வறுமைப்பிணி எங்களைவிட்டகலவில்லை. இன்னும் அதிகப்பட்டுக்கொண்டே வருகிறது. இதுதான் நாங்கள் பெற்ற பயன். அரசாங்கத்தார் முஸ்லீம் சகோதரர்களுக்கு எத்தனையோ உயர்தரக் கலாசாலைகள் வைத்துள்ளார்கள். கிறிஸ்தவர்களுக்கு எத்தனையோ வைத்துக்கொடுத்துள்ளார்கள். பெண்களுக்கு எத்தனையோ கல்லூரிகள் வைத்துக் கொடுத்துள்ளார்கள். பெண்களில் புருஷனை இழந்த விதவைகளுக்குங்கூட கல்லூரிகள் வைத்துள்ளார்கள். ஆனால் தீண்டாத வகுப்பினர்க்கென இம்மாதிரித் தில் ஒரு உயர்தரக் கல்லூரி ஏற்படுத்தியுள்ளார்களா? ஐயா! யானிருக்கும் தென்னாற்காடு ஜில்லாவில் ஆறு லக்ஷம் ஜனங்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களில் ஒருவர்கூட ஸ்கூல் பைனல் படித்தவரில்லை. ஆறு லக்ஷம் ஜனத்தொகையுள்ள ஒரு ஜில்லாவில் அரசாங்கத்தார் எட்டாவது வகுப்பு வரையிலுமுள்ள மூலாதார பாடசாலை ஒன்றுகூட ஏற்படுத்தவில்லை யென்று கூறுவது மிகையாகாது. அரசாங்கத்தாரைப் பார்த்து எங்களுக்கு உயர்தர கலாசாலைகள் கொடுக்கவேண்டும் என்றால் அரசாங்கத்தார் பிரியத் தோன்றவில்லையென்கிறார்கள்.

[Swami Sahajanandam]

[1st March 1928]

“நீண்ட நாள்களாக உதவியின்றி வருந்திவந்த எங்களுக்கு அராசாங்கத்தார் இங்கியாவிற்குச் சீர்திருத்தம் வழங்க முற்பட்டபோது எங்களைக் கைதுக்கினாலொழிய பயன் பெறுதெனக் கண்டு வார்டு வெல்லிங்டன் பிரபு குடியிருப்பு, குடிதண்ணீர், ஆரம்ப பாடசாலைகள், ஐக்கிய நாணய சங்கங்கள், உத்தியோகங்கள் வாங்கிக் கொடுத்தல் முதலாக தாழ்ந்த வகுப்பினர்க்கு எந்தெந்த வகையில் உதவியுரிய வேண்டுமோ அவையனைத்தையும் ஏனைய இலாகாக்கள் செய்ய முடியாதென தீர்க்கமாகச் சிந்தித்து தாழ்ந்த வகுப்பு இரக்கூர் என்னும் பெயரோடு ஒரு இலாகாவை யேற்படுத்தினர். பிறகு தொழிலாளர் கலகங்கள் ஏற்பட்டபோது, அவரை தொழிற் கமிஷனராயிருந்து பாசுட்ரி தொழிலாளர் குறைகளையும் நிவர்த்தி செய்யும்படி உத்தரவிட்டார்கள்.

“முன் கமிஷனராயிருந்த காலஞ்சென்ற ஸர் ஜார்ஜ் பாடிசன் துரையவர்கள் தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட வகுப்பாரின் எல்லாவிதமான குறைகளையும் நீக்கி வந்தார்கள். ஐக்கிய நாணய சங்கங்கள், குடியிருப்பு, குடிதண்ணீர், பாடசாலை ஏற்படுத்தி வந்ததோடு தர்க்காஸ்து நிலங்களும் வாங்கிக் கொடுத்தார்கள். லோகல் போர்டுகளில் ஆதிராவிடர்களை நியமிக்க வில்லையென்றால் உடனே எழுத்துமூலம் வைத்துக்கொண்டு லோகல் போர்டுகளில் ஆதிராவிடர்களை நியமிக்கும்படிச் செய்தவிட்டு மறு வேலைபார்ப்பார்கள். அவரால் முடியாத காரியம் ஒன்றுமில்லை. அவர் நினைத்ததெல்லாம் சட்டம். அவரது இரக்கச்சிந்தையே எங்களை இவ்வளவுதான் முன்னுக்குக் கொண்டுவந்தது. அவர் எங்களுக்குப் பிதாவினும் இனியராக விளங்கினார். குழந்தைகள் தந்தையின் கழுத்தைக் கட்டிக்கொண்டு கேட்பதுபோல் எங்களுக்கு வேண்டியவற்றைக்கேட்போம். அவர் பிதா உரிமையுடன் செய்துவந்தார். தற்போதுள்ள லேபர் கமிஷனருக்கு வேலை தெரியவில்லை. இந்த வருஷம் செலவழிக்க வகைதெரியாமல் சுமார் இரண்டு வசூல் ரூபாய்களைத் திருப்பியிருக்கிறார். நாங்கள் கிணறு, பாடசாலை, மனைக்கட்டுகளில்லையென்று வருந்துகிறோம். இவர் பணத்தை அரசாங்கத்திற்குத் திருப்பியது எதற்காக? எதனால் என்று கேட்கிறேன். ஸர் ஜார்ஜ் பாடிசன் துரையவர்கள் வேலை செய்து வரும்போது கொடுத்தபணம் போதாதென்று சண்டை போட்டுக்கொண்டிருப்பார். இவர் திருப்பியிருக்கிறார். இதனால் இவர் வேலை தெரியாதவரென்று பெறப்படவில்லையா? தர்க்காஸ்து நிலங்கள் கேட்டால் எனக்குச் சம்பந்தமில்லை கலெக்டரைக் கேளுங்களென்றிருார். உயர்தர கலாசாலைகள் கேட்டால் சட்டமில்லை யென்கிறார். கோவாபரேடிவ் கமிஷன் முன்னிலையில் தற்போதுள்ள லேபர் கமிஷனர் சாக்ஷியம் சொன்னபோது லேபர் டிபார்ட்மென்டிலுள்ள சங்கங்களை ரெகுலர் கோவாபரேடிவ் டிபார்ட்மென்டுக்குக் கொடுத்து விடுவதாகச் சாக்ஷியங் கூறியிருக்கிறார். தஞ்சாவூர் ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள ஆரம்பப் பாடசாலைகளை லோகல் போர்டுகளுக்குக் கொடுத்து விடுவதெனக் கூறியுள்ளதாக வந்தியிருக்கிறது. லோகல் போர்டுகளும் கோவாபரேடிவ் டிபார்ட்மென்டும் எங்களுக்குச் சரியானபடி உதவியான வேலைகள் செய்யவில்லை. திருஷ்டாந்தமாக, தென்னாற்காடு ஜில்லாவில் விழுப்புரம், கடலூர், சிதம்பரம், கள்ளக்குறிச்சி, விருத்தாஜலம் முதலான தென்னாற்காடு ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள 8 தாலுக்காக்களிலும்

1st March 1928]

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மொத்தம் தாலூக்கா போர்டு ஸ்கூல்கள் 302. இந்த முன்னூற்றிரண்டு ஸ்கூல்களில் ஆதிதிராவிடர்கட்கு 27-ம், மற்றவர்கட்கு 275-ம் ஆக விருக்கின்றன. கேசவாபரேடிஸ் டிபார்ட்மென்டும் எங்கள் சங்கங்களைச் சரியாக கவனிப்பதில்லை. இந்த நிலைமையில் லேபர் டிபார்ட்மென்டினுள்ள பாடசாலைகளை லோகல் போர்டுகளிடம் ஒப்புவித்தால் நாளடைவில் அவைகளை கிராமங்களில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு ஆதிதிராவிடர்களுக்குப் பயன்படா வண்ணம் செய்துவிடுவார்கள்.

“அரசாங்கத்தார் தொழில் கமிஷனர் இலாகாவை தம்மிடம் வைத்திருக்கும் காரணங்கள்.—கலவியும், ஐக்கியநாய சங்கங்களும் மந்திரிகளைச் சேர்ந்தவை. அவைகளை அவர்களிடம் ஒப்புவிக்காமல் நிர்வாக சபை அங்கத்தினரிடம் வைத்திருக்கும் காரணங்கள் எவை? மந்திரிமார்கள் இராஜ விசுவாசக் குடிகளாகிய திண்டிப்படாத மக்களுக்கு சரியானபடி செய்யமாட்டார்கள். ஆதலால் நாமே செய்யலாமென்னும் இரக்கச் சிந்தையாகவிருக்கலாம். அல்லது பின்னர் மந்திரிமார்கள் எங்களைப்பார்த்து அரசாங்கத்தார் உங்களுக்கு என்ன செய்தார்கள்? நாங்களல்லவா உங்களை முன்னுக்குக் கொண்டுவந்தோமென்று சொல்லுவார்கள். அந்தப் பெருமையை அவர்களுக்குக் கொடுப்பதைவிட நாமே செய்து ஆதிதிராவிடர்களின் இராஜ விசுவாசத்தை விருத்திசெய்யலாமென்றுங் கருதியிருக்கலாம். கமிஷனர் அரசாங்க நோக்கத்தை அறியாமல் மந்திரிமார்களிடம் கல்வியையும் சங்கங்களையும் ஒப்புவிப்பாராயின், எங்களைக் காங்கிரஸ்காரரோடு சேரும்படி சொல்கிறாரெனக் கருதவேண்டும். மந்திரிகளிடம் ஒப்புவித்தால் பாடசாலைகள் சங்கங்கள் விஷயமாக மந்திரிகளிடம் செல்லவேண்டும். மந்திரிமார்கள் ஜனங்களுக்குப் பொறுப்பாளர்களாக நடக்கவேண்டும். அவர்கள் அரசாங்கத்திற்கு விரோதமான தீர்மானங்கள் கொண்டுவரும்போது நாங்கள் அவர்களுடன் சேராமற் போனால் அவர்கள் எங்களுக்கு வேண்டியதைச் செய்யமாட்டார்கள். அப்பொழுது எங்கள் இராஜவிசுவாசத்தை எப்படிக்காட்டிவது?

“தொழில் கமிஷனர் இலாகாவின் திருத்தங்கள்.—தொழில் கமிஷனர் இலாகா தோன்றியகாலத்தில் ஜில்லாக்களில் வேலை செய்பவர்கள் உதவி கமிஷனராயிருந்தார்கள். அவர்கள் டிப்டி கலெக்டர் பதவியுள்ளவர்கள். அவர்கள் திறமாகவே வேலையை நடத்திவந்தார்கள். அவர்களுக்குப்பதிலாக தாசில்தார் பதவியிலுள்ளவர்களை ஜில்லாக்களில் லேபர் ஆபீஸர்களாக நியமித்துள்ளார்கள். அவர்கள் டிப்டி கலெக்டர் பதவியிலிருப்பவர்கள் செய்யக்கூடிய வேலையைச் செய்யமுடியாது. மனைக்கட்டுகள் வாங்க பயப்படுகிறார்கள். கிராமவாசிகள் அவர்களைக்கண்டு அஞ்சுவதும் இல்லை. அவர்கள் வேலைகளுக்குப் பலவித இடைபூறுகளுண்டாகின்றன. இதை உத்தேசித்து லேபர் ஆபீஸர்களெல்லாம் டிப்டி கலெக்டர்களாக இருக்கவேண்டுமென திரு. ராவ் சாஹெப் R. சீனிவாசம் பிள்ளையவர்கள் தீர்மானம் கொண்டுவந்தார். மறமைய அங்கத்தினர்களும் அவ்வாறே கேட்டுக்கொண்டோம். அது விஷயம் கவனிக்கவில்லை. தாமந்த வகுப்பினருக்குச் செய்யும் வேலைகளைக் குறித்து யோசனை கேட்க டிப்ரஸ்டு கிளாஸ் அட்வைஸரி கமிட்டி ஒன்று வைத்துள்ளார்கள். அக்கமிட்டியிலும் நாங்கள் எடுத்துச் சொன்னோம்.

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அதனை கவனிக்கவில்லை. கனம் லேபர் கமிஷனர் அவர்கள் இரண்டு டிப்டி கமிஷனர்கள் வேண்டுமென்றும் அவர்கள் ஐ.சி.எஸ். ஆபீசர்களாக இருக்கவேண்டுமென்றும் கேட்டார். அதற்கு கனம் ஹோம் மெம்பர் அவர்கள் அனுமதி கொடுப்பதாகத் தெரிவித்தார்கள். ஜில்லாவில் வேலை செய்யும் ஆபீசர்கள் பலமில்லாதவர்களாக இருக்கிறார்கள். அங்கு வேலை செய்யக்கூடியவர்களைத் திறப்படுத்த டிப்டி கலெக்டர்களை வைப்பதை விட்டு ஐ.சி.எஸ். ஆபீஸர்களை எதற்காக மேலே வைப்பது? அஸ்திவாசம் பலமாக இல்லாதபோழுது கட்டிடங்கள் எப்படி சிலை நிற்கும்? பதினாறு ஜில்லாவிற்கு இரண்டுபேர் இருந்தால் போக்குவரத்து விஷயமாக எவ்வளவு செலவழியும்? எட்டி ஜில்லாக்களுக்கு ஒருவர் எப்படி வேலைபார்க்க முடியும்? தன்னுடைய மேற்பார்வை வேலையைப்பார்க்க அவர்களை வைத்தால் பிறகு இவர் தாங்குவதா? இது விஷயமாக அட்வைலரி கமிட்டியில் எங்கள் யோசனை கூறினோம். அது நிராகரிக்கப்பட்டது. கமிட்டியின் யோசனையைக் கேளாது புறக்கணிப்பதாயின் கமிட்டியை யெதற்காக வைத்திருக்கவேண்டும்? கமிட்டியின் யோசனை வேண்டாம்; கமிஷனர் அபிப்பிராயத்திற்கு கமிட்டி அரண் செய்வதற்காக மாத்திரம் இருக்கவேண்டுமென்பது அவர்கள் அபிப்பிராயமா?

“முன்னிருந்த லா மெம்பர் கனம் K. ஸ்ரீகிவாஸ் ஐயங்கார் அவர்கள் எங்களுக்கு மிகவும் உதவியாக விருந்தனர். கனம் நாப்துரையவர்களும் மிகவும் உதவியாக விருந்தனர். ஒரு சமயம் ஆகிதிராவிடர்களுக்குக் கொடுத்த நில விஷயமாக தகராறு உண்டானபோது கனம் ஸர் முகமத் அபிபுல்லா அவர்களும், கனம் ஸர் சி. பி. இராமசாமி ஐயர் அவர்களும் ஆகிதிராவிடர்களுக்குக் கொடுத்த நிலத்தைத் திருப்பிவாங்கினால் அவர்களுக்கு அரசாங்கத்தாரிடமுள்ள நம்பிக்கை போய்விடுமென எழுதியுள்ளார்கள். அது ரிக்கார்டு சம்பந்தமாயிருக்கிறது. இவ்வாறு முன்னிருந்தவர்கள் இரக்கத்தோடும் விசுவாசத்திற்குப் பங்கம் வராமலும் காத்து வந்தார்கள்.

“தற்போதுள்ள ஹோம் மெம்பர்.—ஹானரபிள் கான் பகதூர் உஸ்மான் அவர்கள் மிகவும் நல்லவர். எளிய செவ்வியுடையவர். மிகவும் நன்மை செய்பவர். அவரிடம் தாழ்ந்த வகுப்பினர் இலாகா இருப்பதால் மிகவும் பயனுண்டாரும் என்று காலஞ்சென்ற பிரபு ஸர் பி. இராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் ஒரு ஸமயம் என்னிடம் சொன்னார்கள். அதற்கேற்ப கனம் மெம்பர் அவர்களும், எங்களிடம் பூரண அதுதாபமுள்ளவராக இருக்கிறார். ஆனால் அட்வைலரி கமிட்டியில் எங்கள் யோசனையைக் கவனியாமல்விட்டதன் காரணம், கமிஷனர் ஒரு ஐ.ஸி.எஸ். ஆபீஸர் ஆயிற்றே, அவர் சொல்லுவது சரியாகவிருக்கலாமென்று கருதுவதாயிருக்கலாம். தாழ்ந்த வகுப்பிற் பிறந்து தாழ்ந்த வகுப்புத் துன்பங்களை அனுபவித்துக்கொண்டு தாழ்ந்த வகுப்பினர் பிரதிநிதிகளாக வந்துள்ள எங்களுக்கு எங்கள் தேவைகள் தெரியுமா? சாதாரணமான ஒரு ஆபீஸருக்குத் தெரியுமா? கமிட்டி வைத்திருப்பதும் எங்களைக் கேட்பதும் ஒரு சடங்கு போலும். பலர் லேபர் டிபார்ட்மென்டை யொழிக்கக் கருதுகின்றனர். அவர்கள் கூறும் காரணம், ‘மற்றைய மாகாணங்களில் லேபர் டிபார்ட்

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மென்டிஸ்டீலே, இங்கேமாத்திரம் எதற்கு? என்கிறார்கள். இவ்வேலைகளை லோகல் போர்டார்களிடம் ஒப்பிவித்து விடலாமே யென சூழ்ச்சியாகச் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அவர்கள் ஷே கமிஷனரிடம் பேசியிருக்கலாமா வெனச் சந்தேகிக்கிறேன். கனம் மெம்பர் அவர்கள் தொழில் கமிஷனர் இலாகா விஷயத்தில் பூரண சிரத்தை யெடுத்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டுகிறேன்.

“ மந்திரிமார்கள்.—முன்னிருந்த மந்திரி கனம் பனகால் ராஜா ஒன்றுமில்லாதகாலத்தில் ஜில்லா போர்டு, தாலூகா போர்டு, முனிஸிபாலிட்டி, சல்விச் சங்கங்கள் முதலானவைகளில் புதிது புதிதாக ஆதி இந்துக்களை நியமனங்கள் செய்தனர். தற்போதுள்ள முதன் மந்திரியார் எங்களுக்கு ஆபத்த நண்பர். அவர்கள் மந்திரி பதவியை யேற்றபோது எங்களுக்கு அந்த பதவி வந்ததாக மகிழ்ந்தோம்; இப்போதும் மகிழ்கிறோம். முன்னிருந்த மந்திரி செய்த நியமனங்களைவிட இவர் அதிகமாகச் செய்வாரென எதிர்ப் பார்த்தோம். ஆனால் முன்னிருந்த நியமனங்களும் இப்பொழுது குறைந்து வருகின்றன. உதாரணமாக, மாயவரத்தில் ஏற்கனவே ஒரு ஆதி திராவிடரை நியமனஞ் செய்திருந்தது. இப்பொழுது அவரது இடத்திற்கு வேறொரு ஆதிதிராவிடரை நியமிக்கவேண்டுமென யானும் எங்கள் பெரியவர் ராவ் சாஹேப் R. ஸ்ரீநிவாசம் பிள்ளை அவர்களும் மாயவரம் முனிஸிபல் சேர்மன் அவர்களும் மற்றுஞ் சிலருங் கூடி கனம் முதன் மந்திரியாரவர்களிடம் சொன்னோம். கவனிப்பதாகச் சொல்லியிருந்தார். முடிவில் வேறு வகுப்பினர் மாயவரம் டவுனில் சுமார் 20 வீடுகளுக்கு அதிகமில்லாத வகுப்பினர் ஒருவரை நியமனம் செய்தனர். பிறகு யான் கேட்டதற்கு டிப்டி கலெக்டர் சிபார்சு செய்தாரென்றார். இதற்கு ஆச் சரியப்படாமலிருக்க முடியவில்லை. டிப்டி கலெக்டர் சிபார்சு செய்த படியே செய்தாரென்றால், தாழ்ந்த வகுப்புப் பிரதிநிதிகளாகிய எங்கள் சிபார்சுகளுக்கே? முனிஸிபல் சேர்மன் சிபார்சு என்கே? கனம் மந்திரியவர்களின் அபிப்பிராயமென்கே? எங்களுக்கு டிப்டி கலெக்டர்தான் முதன் மந்திரி போவான்.

“ சீர்திருத்தத்தால் வந்த கேடு - கிராம பஞ்சாயத்து கோர்ட்டு 1 p.m.
கள்.—கிராமங்களில் பஞ்சாயத்துக் கோர்ட்டுகள் ஏற்படாமுன் ஒரு மிராசதார் ஒரு ஆதி இந்துவை அடக்கவேண்டுமாயின் சரியோ, தப்போ, ஒரு கேஸை யெடுத்துக்கொண்டு மாஜிஸ்ட்ரேட்டு கோர்ட்டிற்கும் ஜில்லா, முனிசிப் கோர்ட்டிற்கும் போகவேண்டும். பலமுறை அலைய வேண்டும். லாயர்களைப் பிடிக்கவேண்டும். பணஞ் செலவழிக்கவேண்டும். பெரிய கோர்ட்டுகளில் அநேகமாக நியாயம் உள்ளவாளுகவே கிடைக்கும். அதனால் பொய்க் கேசுகள் கொண்டுபோக அநேகமாக அஞ்சுவார்கள். கிராம பஞ்சாயத்து கோர்ட்டுகளில் வாதிகளாக வருபவரும் அவர் பந்துக்களும் அங்கத்தினராயிருக்கின்றனர். அதனால் ஏழை ஆதிதிராவிடர்களை ஆதி இந்துக்களை கேள்விமுறையில்லாமல் அடக்கி வருகின்றனர். கிராமப் பஞ்சாயத்துக் கோர்ட்டுகள் ஏழைகளை முதலாளிகளிடம் பிடித்துக் கொடுத்ததாகிறது. உடனே பஞ்சாயத்துக் கோர்ட்டுகளை எடுத்துவிடவேண்டும். அல்லது ஜனத்தொகைக்கேற்றவாறு அகில் பல வகுப்பாரும் இடம் பெறும்வரை நிறுத்திவைக்கவேண்டும்.”

[Swami Sahajanandam]

[1st March 1928]

“பணமில்லையாம்.—ஆதி இந்துக்களாகிய நாங்கள் இந்தியாவின் உயிர்நாடியாயிருக்கிறோம். அரசாங்க நிர்வாகம் வரிகள் வகையால் நிற்கிறது. வரி கொடுப்போர் நேரே சம்பாதித்துவிடவில்லை. அவர்கள் ஏழைகளாகிய எங்கள் உழைப்பால் எங்கள் இரத்தத்தைப் பிழிந்து பொருள் சேர்க்கிறார்கள். ஆகவே எங்கள் உழைப்பாலேயே நிர்வாகம் நடைபெறுகிறது. இந்தியாவிலுள்ள மூலாதாரத்தொழில் விவசாயமே. அதில் விளையும் பொருளைக்கொண்டு சிலர் மேல்நாட்டுப் பொருளுக்கு ஏஜெண்டுகளாயிருக்கிறார்கள். சிலர் தானியத்தை விற்ப வகையால் உண்டான பொருளைக்கொண்டு வட்டித்தொழில் செய்கிறார்கள். ஆகவே அரசாங்கத்தாருக்கு வரும் வருமானமெல்லாம் எங்கள் இரத்த வேர்வையே. அப்படிப்பட்ட எங்களுக்குச் சொற்ப உதவி செய்யவேண்டுமென்று ஆபத்தக்காலத்தில் கேட்டால் பணமில்லை யென்கிறார்கள். திருவண்ணாமலைச் சேரியில் வீடுகள் பற்றி யெரிந்த விஷயமாக அவ்வூர் முனிஸிபல் சபையார் இரண்டாயிரம் ரூபாய்கள் சாங்க்ஷன்செய்ததை அரசாங்கத்தார் மறுத்துவிட்டார்கள். இந்தியாவின் பொருளாதார உற்பத்திக்கேதுவாக ஆரம்ப பாடசாலைகளில் விவசாயங் கற்றுக்கொடுக்க பாடசாலை ஒன்றுக்கு இரண்டு ஏக்கர் வீதம் நிலங்கள் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமெனக் கேட்டதற்கு முன்னர் லேபர் கமிஷனராயிருந்து எங்களுக்காகப் பாடுபட்ட கனம் மாயர் துரையவர்கள் தற்போது பொக்கிஷ அங்கத்தினராயிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் பணமில்லை யென்று சொல்லுவது விந்தையாயிருக்கிறது.

“உரிமைகளும் அரசாங்கமும்.—இந்தியாவில் பிரிடிஷ் அரசாங்கத்தில் இன்னும் பல விதிகளில் செல்லவும் பொதுக்கிணறு, குளங்களில் தண்ணீர் எடுக்கவும், எல்லாக் கலாசாலைகளில் சேர்ந்து படிக்கவும் உரிமையற்றவர்களாயிருக்கிறோம். அரசாங்கத்தாரைக் கேட்டால் பொதுக்கிணறு, குளம் முதலானவைகள் எல்லாருக்கும் பொதுவெனச் சட்டம் செய்திருக்கிறோம் எனச் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அதனை ஆதரவாகக்கொண்டு உரிமையைப் பாதுகாக்க முயன்றால் கலகஞ் செய்பவரெனத் தடுக்கிறார்கள். இவர்கள் சட்டம் செய்தது எதற்கு? அரசாங்கச் சட்டத்திற்குப் பலமில்லையா? அல்லது எட்டுச் சுரைக்காயா?

“சிற்சில இடங்களில் எங்களுக்குள்ள உரிமைகள் பாதிக்கப்படும் விஷயமாக அரசாங்கத்தாரைக் கேட்டால் நாங்கள் மீத சம்பந்தமான விஷயங்களில் தலையிடுவதில்லை யென்கிறார்கள். அப்படியானால் எங்கள் உரிமையைக் கீழ்ப்பாற்றிக்கொள்ள மதசம்பந்தமான விஷயத்தில் தலையிடும் போது அரசாங்கத்தார் வந்து தடுக்கக்கூடாது. மத விஷயமானதால் தலையிடக்கூடாது. ஆனால் அவர்கள் கலகஞ் செய்பவர்களை யடக்குகிறோமென்கிறார்கள். அது வால்தவமாயின் எங்கள் நியாயமான சுதந்தரத்திற்குப் பழுது வராமலும், ஏனையவர் நியாயமான சுதந்திரத்திற்குப் பழுது வராமலும் ஒருவருக்கொருவர் இடுக்கண் விளைவிக்காமலும் பாதுகாத்து வரவேண்டும். அவ்வாறு செய்யாமல் எங்களை மாத்திரம் மதத்தின் பெயரால் எங்கள் மத விஷயத்தில் குறுக்கிடுவதன் பொருள்தான் என்ன?

1st March 1928]

[Swami Sahajanandam]

“போதுமான பிரதிரிதித்துவம்.—ஜில்லா போர்டு, தாலூகா போர்டு முதலான ஸ்தல ஸ்தாபனங்களில் எங்கள் ஜனத்தொகைக்கேற்றவாறு போதுமான பிரதிரிதித்துவமில்லாமையால் ஷே ஸ்தாபனங்களில் எங்கள் உரிமைகளைப் பாதுகாக்கமுடியவில்லை. யாதொரு பயனும் பெற முடியவில்லை.

“சட்டசபை.—சட்ட சபையில் எங்கள் சமூகத்திற்கேற்றவாறு போதுமான பிரதிரிதித்துவம் இல்லாமையால் எங்கள் நன்மைகளைப் பாதுகாக்கமுடியவில்லை. அரசாங்கத்தாருக்குத் தோல்வி வருங்காலத்தில் அதனைத் தடுக்கமுடியவில்லை. எங்களுக்கு அதிகப் பிரதிரிதித்துவம் கொடுத்திருந்தால் எங்களைக் காப்பாற்றிக்கொள்வதோடு அரசாங்கத்திற்கும் தோல்வி வராமல் பாதுகாப்போம். எங்களைப் பலப்படுத்தாமையாலேயே அடிக்கடி சபையில் அரசாங்கம் பலவீனம் அடைகிறது. இராயல் கமிஷனை பல்விஷகரிக்கவேண்டுமெனக் கொண்டுவந்த தீர்மானம் நாங்கள் மெஜாரிடியா யிருந்தால் நிறைவேற்றியிருக்குமா? பல்விஷகார தீர்மானம் சபையில் நடைபெற்றபோது நாங்கள் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களை யெதிர்த்தோம். அவர்கள் அரசாங்கத்தார் உங்கட் கென்ன செய்தார்களென்றபோது அரசாங்கத்தார் எங்கட்கு எவ்வளவோ செய்திருக்கிறார்களென்றோம். அரசாங்கத்தாரும் செய்ததாகச் சொன்னார்கள். அரசாங்கத்தின்மீதுள்ள விசுவாசத்தால் சொல்லுகிறேமேயன்றி உண்மையில் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் கேட்கும் கேள்விக்குப் பதில்சொல்லும் நிலைமையில் அரசாங்கத்தார் எங்களை வைக்கவில்லை.

“தர்க்காஸ்து நிலங்கள்.—இந்தியாவில் பிறந்து இந்தியாவிலேயே வளர்ந்து இந்தியாவிலேயே யிறக்கின்றவர்களுமாகிய இந்தியாவின் உயிர் நாடியாயிருக்கும் எங்களுக்கு நிலங்கள் அடமானம் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டால் கிடைப்பது முயற்கொம்பாயிருக்கிறது. போர்டு ஸ்டான்டிங் ஆர்டர் 13, 15 முதலான பிரிவுகளில் நீர்ப்பிடிப்பாயிருந்தாலும் தண்ணீர் பாயும் நிலங்களாயிருந்தாலும் ஆதிதிராவிடர்களுக்குக் கொடுக்கலாமென சட்டமியற்றியிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால், நடவடிக்கைகளில் எங்கேனும் நல்ல நிலமாயிருப்பதைக் கொடுத்துவிட்டால் தப்பாகக் கொடுத்துவிட்டார்களென ரத்து செய்து எவம் போடுகிறார்கள். விலக்கு விதிக்கிறார்கள். அரசாங்கத்தார் பொருளைவிட குடியினையுயர்வாகக் கருதவில்லைபோலும். எங்கள் உள்ள நிலங்களையும் ஆதி இந்துக்களுக்கென ஒதுக்கவைத்து இலவசமாகக் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமெனக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். எங்களுக்குக் குடியிருப்பு, குடிதண்ணீர், பாடசாலைகள், உயர்தர இலவசப் படிப்பு, கைத் தொழிற்படிப்பு முதலானவைகள் கொடுக்கும் விஷயமாக இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தில் கவனிக்கும்படிக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். எங்களுடைய அரசாங்கத்தையும் பாதுகாக்க அதிகப் பிரதிரிதித்துவம் கொடுக்கவேண்டுகிறேன். அது அரசாங்கத்தார் இஷ்டம்போல் செய்வதால் அவர்கள் இஷ்டம்போல் நடக்கிறார்கள். ஜனங்களுக்கு பொறுப்புள்ளவைகளாக இருக்கச் செய்யவேண்டும். கட்டாயக் கல்வி வெறும் சட்டமாயிராமல் அனுபவத்தில் வரும்படி செய்யவேண்டும்.”

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* Diwan Bahadur S. KUMARASWAMI REDDIYAR :—“ Mr. President, Sir, the House is indeed very thankful to the hon. the Finance Member for the very lucid exposition we had from him of the dry figures of the Budget and for the frankness with which he laid bare before us the present financial position of the province and warned us against being deceived by the apparent financial prosperity which is seen on the surface of the Budget. I must also join with the hon. Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nayar in congratulating him on the fact that during his term of office, the last instalment of the provincial contribution has been released. As hon. Members of this House are aware, while he was a Member of the Legislative Assembly, it was the hon. Mr. Moir that led the crusade against this iniquitous impost. It must be particularly gratifying to him to-day to see that during the term of his office as Finance Member of this Government he has been able to reap to the full the fruits of his heroic labours.

1-15
p.m.

“ In criticising the budget of the current year in March last, myself and others who, like me, represent the rural areas of this Province made two very bitter complaints. The first was the extravagant scale on which financial commitments were undertaken under the budget not only for the year for which we were budgeting, but also for a series of future years. The second complaint was that the interests of the rural areas have been and are still being neglected and it is the city and urban interests alone that received special attention at the hands of the Government. With regard to the first, Sir, I have again to repeat the same complaint. It seems to me that the same, if not a worse, degree of extravagance is repeated in the present budget also. The taxes of the poor rural masses is being converted into brick and mortar just the same as before. ‘In a poor country like India,’ said a former Secretary of State for India, not the present one though, ‘economy is as much an element of defence as guns and forts.’ I wish, Sir, that that principle was borne in mind in framing the budgets of this province. We pointed out last year, Sir, several instances of extravagance in expenditure which disfigured the budget. I can, if time permitted, mention and place before you similar instances of extravagance in this budget as well where money is sought to be spent on this city particularly and to some extent in other urban areas also. No improvement has been shown with regard to the provisions made in respect of claims in rural amelioration. As we said often, the story is still the same and the wail of the poor villager does not come into the four walls of the Fort St. George.

“ The hon. the Finance Member has sounded a note of warning in the speech he made to the House yesterday. He said that ‘the time will come ere long when demands in respect of new buildings and similar schemes will have to be much more strictly scrutinized.’ We are very thankful, Sir, for this statement. We have to say that that time does exist even now and has existed for many years already, and we only wish that these schemes of buildings and other schemes of expenditure wasteful in our view were scrutinized with greater care than they have been in the past.

“ As regards the neglect of rural interests, the hon. Members of the House may remember that we that represent the rural areas, at the time of the last budget, laid particular emphasis on the need for the constitution of a special rural reconstruction fund, which would be earmarked for that one

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particular purpose and which would be untouchable for any other. As the hon. Member, Mr. Munuswami Nayudu, pointed out, that scheme has not yet been realized. I know that the Government has sent round a circular to the Presidents of District Boards giving the outlines of a scheme which they propose to institute and inviting their opinions on that scheme. I also know that the failure to submit early replies to this memorandum of the Government has been assigned as the reason for the delay in considering the scheme. But, I should ask the hon. the Chief Minister who is in charge of this particular department to remember that the scheme that they have placed before the Presidents of the District Boards presents very many serious difficulties. While we agree to the general outline of it and welcome the fact that it accepts the need for a reconstruction fund on the lines which we have proposed, we object to the method by which the scheme is sought to be financed. It is certainly most objectionable, Sir. The scheme is sought to be financed by additional taxation of land. I need hardly remind this House that the present taxation of land in this country is said to be the heaviest known to the world. And we certainly cannot be a party to any legislation or any proposal of the Government to increase the already heavy burden on the land of this province. I should submit, Sir, that there are other sources and resources which could be much more easily taxed than the land of this province. I might mention one instance. Under the present local Boards Act, hon. Members of the House who have not known it before would be surprised to hear that — salaries of officers are not assessable at all to profession tax while the poor landholder who pays such a heavy tax upon his land and the petty dealer earning about Rs. 30 by selling betel and areca nuts are assessed to profession tax. An officer of Government who resides within non-municipal limits and gets even over a thousand rupees a month is free from all local taxation. He has not to pay a pie of tax to any local board within whose area he may be living. That, I say, is an instance by which money can be raised for the purpose of rural reconstruction. Instead of tapping resources like that, the Government still further want to increase the taxation on the land of this province. Is it any wonder, Sir, that Presidents of District Boards find very great difficulty in replying to a proposal of this kind? They are afraid that if they condemn the method by which money is sought to be raised for the scheme, the whole scheme may be scrapped altogether. They certainly cannot be parties to any proposal to raise money by adding to the taxes on land. That I submit is the difficult position in which we Presidents of the District Boards are placed.

“It is certainly open to the Government, Sir, to allot a good portion of the released provincial contributions as a nucleus for the purpose of this fund. That was a suggestion made by several of us in the course of the budget debate last year. I cannot congratulate the Government on the way in which the released provincial contribution has been appropriated under several heads. It has been distributed, I should say, in a rather haphazard manner for various miscellaneous purposes of doubtful public utility. No systematic schemes were ever thought out, and I must say that I am sorry that no earnest endeavour has yet been made on the part of the Government to have a well-thought-out scheme, or a well-planned programme under which they could spend this money to the best advantage of the suffering masses of the rural areas. That, Sir, is my complaint. I desire that in the course of the year 1928-29, better attention would be paid to these matters than has been paid so far during the year 1927-28.

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"Then, Sir, with regard to the activities of the Government in its various departments, Transferred and Reserve, and the policies underlying these activities. I must say that there is not much to be said or counted to their credit. As regards the hon. the Chief Minister, the Minister for Education and Local Self-Government, I have already made my complaints about his indifference towards the Rural Reconstruction Fund. Two Bills of his have come up. One—a Bill to amend the Madras University Act of Sir A. P. Patro—is before the Select Committee. As it emerged from his Special Officer, it was suspected that under its provisions sufficient safeguards were not given to protect the interests of the mufassal colleges. But I hope, Sir, as it emerges from the Select Committee it will not be open to that accusation. I have the honour to belong to that Select Committee; and I can say, therefore, with a certain amount of authority on that point, that the Bill has been very much improved and I am glad to admit in this connection that it was with the co-operation of the Chief Minister himself that we succeeded in doing so.

"The other Bill which is before the public is the Bill to amend the Elementary Education Act. That, I should say, has not so far been received with any favour by the public, but it is yet before the public and it has been referred to the District Boards and the hon. the Chief Minister told us that he was going to refer it to the Municipal Councils also. When the criticisms are before the Government, I hope that the Bill with such revisions as may be necessary for the improvement of that Bill will be accepted.

"As regards the hon. Second Minister, Sir, it was in the course of his speech on the last budget that the hon. Member from Nellore said, with perhaps an outspokenness which must have been rather disagreeable to the hon. Minister, that he had been assigned a somewhat like portfolio for the reason that to him was also assigned the unpleasant work of fishing for votes from the benches opposite. While I cannot undertake to say, Sir, how far he has succeeded in that direction, the division lists as found in the Proceedings of this House, I should say, do not bear much evidence of his having succeeded in this respect. But apart from that I should say, Sir, he has accumulated during the year and a half of his term of office, through which he has already passed very little to his credit. In the early days of the triumphal entry of this Ministry into office, from out of the incongruous elements sitting behind the Ministers, which at that time went by the dignified name of a party, a somewhat rebellious member forced out of the hon. the Second Minister an undertaking that he would bring an all-comprehensive amending Bill with regard to the Religious Endowments of this Province very soon. He said he had even during the short time for which he had held the Office of Minister—and perhaps during his pre-Ministerial days also—ascertained what the public feeling in the country was, and that his Bill was going to be in conformity with that public feeling which he had discovered. Well, Sir, has he brought before us his Bill? He has not. If he had stopped there, that would not have been much to his discredit, I would say. But, in the place of an all-comprehensive Bill, which he had proposed and had promised to place before the House, he brought an amending Bill of very great importance, which contained only one clause. And what was that clause for? It was to extend the lease of life of his creatures on the Committees, the Temple Committees, which were constituted by the present Act. Even after that Bill was passed, has he done much to see that

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the elections provided for under the Act are held? No. Probably under the sense of security which this new Act has given him, he feels that he could wait still further and I shall not be surprised—and I am sure there will be many Members of this House who will not be surprised either—if he comes forward when we meet next with another Bill of one section asking for a further term of life for the nominees of his.

"Beyond that, Sir, I do not see, there is much to his credit. The hon. 1-30 Member from Nellore who has always got a partiality for the hon. the Second P.m. Minister has already said much about that he has done and what he has not done. Well, Sir, I will ask: Is he to blame for this? The hon. Minister will give an emphatic answer 'No'."

The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Member is requested to bring his remarks to a close."

* Diwan Bahadur S. KUMARASWAMI REDDIYAR:—"He would say that under less disturbed conditions he would have come up to expectations, but that now his energies are mostly required for the settlement of domestic quarrels. Well, Sir, I wish that better conditions will soon come into existence so that we may then be able to put to the test what his calibre really is. I have a good deal to say about the other hon. Members, but as the hon. President has already said that my time is up, I would take other opportunities to speak about them quite as frankly as the hon. the Finance Member spoke about the financial position of this Province. In obedience to your command, Sir, I resume my seat."

The House then adjourned for lunch.

After lunch (2-30 p.m.).

* Mr. C. GOPALA MENON:—"Mr. President, Sir, I must in the first place thank the hon. the Finance Member for the lucidity with which he has presented to this House the financial position of the Presidency for the last two years and also for the coming year. His speech which is full of figures forms a guide for those who are not adepts in budget reading to make out the figures with the greatest ease and facility. The two factors with which the public finances of any country will be judged are: (1) whether the expenditure is normal as compared with those of the preceding years and (2) whether, if there is an increase in expenditure, that expenditure is proportionate to the increase in revenue. Now, let us apply this principle to the budget estimate of this year and see whether the expenditure is in proportion or out of proportion to the increase in revenue. For this purpose, I need not go very far. I have only to take the figures for the last two years. In 1926-27, our expenditure was 1,617 lakhs including 68 lakhs for non-recurring and special items. In 1928-29, our expenditure is estimated at 1,677 lakhs. What does this represent? Is this a normal increase or not? In other words, I must say that the expenditure has gone up by 20 per cent in two years and by 35 per cent in five years. Coming to the budget estimate for 1928-29, I find that there is an increase in estimated expenditure of 141 lakhs. What is this due to? Before discussing this point, I must point out what has been the variation in the estimates and actuals for the previous two years. In 1926, I find that there was an underestimation of revenue to the extent of 49 lakhs and an overestimation of expenditure to the

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extent of 83 lakhs. In 1927-28 there is an underestimation of revenue of 21 lakhs and an overestimation of expenditure of $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. This sort of underestimating revenue and overestimating expenditure is a thing to be avoided. At the meeting of the Public Accounts Committee we have pointed out that heads of departments should be warned that the estimates and actuals should be brought as near as possible. In a matter of this kind, there is another aspect with which this House is directly concerned. The Council by this means is deprived of the right of voting to the extent of the same estimated, overestimated and underestimated.

"Now, coming to the budget estimate for the coming year, I may point out that there is an increase in expenditure of 141 lakhs. What is this due to? Since 1925-26 the provincial Government have been receiving large remissions from the Government of India and the local Government has been unable to find adequate employment for the large revenue surpluses. For this state of affairs I have to blame the hon. Ministers to a very large extent. Because, they have not been able to get any cut and dry programme for useful expenditure in their departments. On account of this, the Finance Member, in order to find employment for the unassimilated revenue, has allowed large sums of money for non-recurring expenditure. In the coming year this sort of expenditure amounts to something like 168 lakhs and in two instances they are capital expenditure. I shall only take as an instance the estimated expenditure in the civil works. In 1926-27 our expenditure for civil works was only 114 lakhs and the allotment for the next year is 218 lakhs. In one item alone (Building) the expenditure which was 28 lakhs in 1926-27 has gone up to Rs. 78 lakhs. That is a large increase of 200 per cent. As a result of this diversion of revenue surpluses for non-recurring expenditure, the departments which are intended for the economic well being of the people are allowed to grow in their normal groove without any schemes for any tangible help from Government or any new programme or scheme of development for the good of the people. The complaint of the people is that this Province is heavily taxed. In view of the large surpluses that we have, the Government could very well afford to reduce the judicial, non-judicial and court-fee stamps which was imposed as a war measure in 1922.

"Coming to the Reserved Departments, I have only one word to say regarding irrigation. We heard from the speeches earlier in the day that the Andhradesa was not allotted adequate funds for big irrigation works. The hon. Member from Tanjore has pointed out that as that district contributed one-tenth of the revenue of this Province any other district should not quarrel over that matter if that district has received any special consideration. But, may I ask the hon. Member in charge of irrigation whether all other districts are to be denied the benefit of developing Irrigation projects until the Mettur project blossoms up into maturity? I do not blame the hon. Member for Irrigation for spending so much money on the Mettur project which expenditure has gone up from 5 lakhs to 7 lakhs. We all know that big irrigation schemes of that nature would require large sums. But at the same time I should bring to his notice that he has not moved in the matter of the development of the hydro-electric scheme with the same enthusiasm with which he started it two years ago. I find in the budget for 1926-27 an allotment of 10 lakhs and in 1927-28 that allotment has been reduced to six lakhs. This year the allotment has been increased to

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ten lakhs. I also find that a sum of $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs has been expended in England. Beyond that I do not find any expenditure incurred in the year. Probably any small sum spent locally has been met out of contingent funds. I have to bring to his notice this much: The policy of constructing big irrigation works has been laid down by the Government of India some 50 years ago. During the time of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty a Commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Sir Colin Scott-Moncrief, an eminent Engineer. That Commission has laid down the policy for undertaking big irrigation works to ward off distress and famine. But we know the difficulties which this Government had to undergo to get the money necessary for the Mettur project. They say that it is due to want of an irrigation law and on the same grounds the Land Revenue Bill was withdrawn. If two eminent lawyers of the type of the late Sir K. Srinivasa Ayyangar and our present Law Member, the hon. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar could not find a way to bring into operation an irrigation law suitable both to the Government and to the people, I do not know whether further statesmanship can be brought to bear on this most complicated question to have an irrigation law in the near future. I may also point out in this connexion that except a small sum of Rs 50,000 allotted for the improvement of the Buckingham canal, they have neglected the Buckingham canal and the improvement of other inland waterways. Here I may refer the hon. Member in charge of Irrigation to a resolution passed at the Industrial and Commercial Congress which met in Madras in December 1927. That resolution dealt with the urgent necessity in this country for the improvement of inland waterways. Sir, if we only move in the right direction of bringing an irrigation law into existence and carry on works of public utility in the matter of irrigation, it will be good to the people and profitable to the Government. Let us hope that the progress will be accelerated in this direction in the near future.

"I will now turn my attention to the Agricultural Department. I find an allotment of Rs. 50,000 for Exhibition Units for the purpose of agricultural demonstration. With regard to these demonstrations and demonstrators, I have to bring to the notice of the Minister for Development that these demonstrators,—of course they are earnest men—have not been able to bring the ryots to adopt new methods of improvements in adopting up-to-date implements, better seeds, so on and so forth. The ryots have got a notion that the operations carried on in the demonstration farms are rather dear and that it is not possible for them to undertake such operations. I would suggest a way out of this difficulty and it is this: A grant-in-aid system be introduced so that the students who go out of the Agricultural College may be asked to start demonstration farms on their own land, the Government undertaking to supply modern appliances."

The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The hon. Member is requested to bring his remarks to a close."

* MR. C. GOPALA MENON:—"In that way we can have demonstration farms in every taluk or for a group of villages."

* MR. V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI:—"Sir, let me congratulate the hon. the Finance Member for the lucid exposition of the budget now under discussion." 2-15 p.m.

"I do not wish to deal at length over the general observation of the financial status of the Province since some of the hon. Members have already dealt

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with that aspect of the question. With the remission of the provincial contribution the finances will adjust themselves, but I will say that the policy of utilizing the provincial contribution to fill up the coffers of the State is not sound. Since the economic depression of the depressed classes still continue to be in the same way, I would have liked a substantial portion of the provincial contribution kept apart for ameliorating their condition.

"Though I made several observations as to the disabilities of the depressed classes at the time of the last budget debate very little has been done. I am fully alive to the fact that the Government are trying to help us but the efforts are too meagre and will not meet our needs.

"To instance the grievances of our labouring population the cry in the rural parts is greater than in the cities. I know of villages where people have to go a mile or two to get a pot of water. In some villages our women have to wait near wells for half a day and more for a pot of water. The village talaiyaris and vettis are not paid enough to keep their body and soul together. The solution is only by raising their wages and finding better housing accommodation.

"Turning to the question of service, how depressing and wounding it is to know that not a single member of the depressed classes was chosen during the last selection to the cadre of inspectors and sub inspectors. The Government must make a liberal policy in this connexion. Turning to the question of elementary education while Government doles out large amounts to the local bodies they do not admit children of the depressed classes to sit and take lessons with other children and I hope Government will look into this problem and bring local bodies to their senses.

"I am sorry that enough measures are not taken for improving the village sanitation and affording medical aid. The Development Department have not extended its scope to our sphere where there are possibilities.

"Lastly, I may say that unless the Government makes it a point to appoint our own men in the various activities of the Labour Department our progress will be at a stand still; at least in the new financial year the Government will accede to this request. The establishment of panchayat courts have only retarded our progress and added to our oppression. Recently I visited some villages in the North Arcot district and in one of the villages when I asked about the panchayat court the villager asked me to say 'Panchamapathaka Court'. Those who know Tamil will know what this term means. The sooner we get rid of this institution the better for us. With these remarks I close."

* Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—"Sir, I said before that this general discussion does not benefit any one, neither the House, the public nor the Government. It is the remnant of the old system, a formality that has lost all its significance, especially now when we have to address empty benches. Therefore I shall confine myself to deal with two aspects of the budget. From the point of view of the agriculturist and the ryot, we have to see whether there is any new scheme of development beneficial to the ryot population and the agriculturist, whether the financial outlook promises any relief to the agriculturist and the tax-payer of the province. On these aspects of the budget I wish to offer a few remarks.

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"With regard to the first it is most disappointing that the hon. the Finance Member does not refer us to any new schemes. Provision was made for a sum of 20 lakhs for new miscellaneous schemes of development, and these new schemes are to be found in pages 85 to 133 of the memorandum, details of new schemes of every department are described from which we can see whether there is any item which is beneficial to the agriculturist or to the tax-payer.

"I shall rest content with referring to three important branches of administration, namely, agriculture, irrigation facilities that will benefit the ryot and educational expansion. With regard to these, I may say at once, that there is absolutely no progressive policy nor any new policy. The agriculturist and the ryot have every reason to complain.

"With regard to agriculture hon. Members will find in the financial memorandum given by the Secretary at paragraph 154, only one outstanding item, with regard to agriculture, namely, the travelling exhibition. This is said to be a very important item of development as being the medium of instruction to the ryot. The exhibition goes through the country giving exhibitions in matters of agricultural economy and improvement. There is no other item provided for, which will benefit the agriculturist. What is it that has been done to disseminate the new scientific information collected throughout the country. The answer is a big nil. There should be a large number of agricultural demonstration farms in each district showing the benefits of the single seedling system and other economic processes. No means are adopted to carry them to the door of the ryots. Before agriculture became a transferred subject, we had agricultural associations with non-official agencies to help and guide the agricultural population. They helped the Director of Agriculture for spreading knowledge in every taluk. It is these non-official agencies in the time when Mr. Couchman was the Director of Agriculture that helped in working out the benefits of the single seedlings system and to spread it throughout the country. We do not now see any such association, nor any other organization adopted as a medium of imparting knowledge to the ryot. Government failed to adopt any useful and effective measures.

"Turning to the irrigation works it is possible that the Mettur project may benefit a particular taluk or taluks, though a large burden on the revenues. With regard to other projects, smaller and useful investigation was made by the Public Works Department and others who have been placed on special duty and they have submitted reports to the Government on such small schemes costing about two or three lakhs of rupees which can be carried out with profit both to the ryot and the Government. These schemes have not been taken into consideration in the budget at all. So far as the irrigation facilities to the ryots are concerned we have no schemes of development at all. Whatever may be our political demands whether we may ask for 'independence' or 'swaraj', what does it matter to the ryot so long as he does not get necessary facilities in the matter of irrigation, agriculture and education.

"It is in the development of these facilities that the tax-payer will see the 3 p.m. beneficial results of the administration. I have said that in these three matters no new policy has been inaugurated.

"As regards education, there is a provision for the starting of new schools in villages with a population of 500 and over. But this is only completing the existing scheme but the next stage of consolidation of single

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teacher schools ought to have been taken up now as sufficient experience has been gained within the last three years. The whole scheme should now be examined to see whether we could not resume the scheme which has been working so well during the past few years.

"The bogey of trained teachers seems to be looming large in the eyes of the Government. So far as the elementary schools are concerned it is not sound to say that a trained elementary teacher is better than the untrained teacher who has general education up to third form. The distinction between a trained teacher and an untrained teacher has force so far as the secondary and higher education is concerned; but for elementary education what you want is a person who belongs to the locality and who has passed the third or sixth form and is able to take up the work in that locality. He will be a suitable person to help the development of the village school. That aspect of the question was discussed by the Government and I do not know with what result. This will remove the difficulty of the paucity of trained teachers to which the hon. the Finance Member has referred. There are a large number of such persons available and they are surely better than the trained teachers who have studied only up to the third or the fourth standard and are trained in the sessions school. I am glad to see that the sessions schools are abolished. The elementary trained teacher should have some general education before he is given the training. The period of training must be reduced according to general education qualification and the teacher be given some general training for a period of six months. The person must be one who belongs to the same locality. I am sure when the House comes to discuss the Elementary Education Bill this aspect of the question which will help the expansion of elementary education will be kept in view.

"As regards irrigation, whatever may be the schemes paid for from borrowed capital, there are no new schemes from the expenditure charged to revenue. Excepting two schemes of any note, I do not find in the list of new works anything that will profit the ryots. Out of an excess expenditure of 189½ lakhs, only 11·10 lakhs were allotted to the developments in the various departments which were initiated in the current year or in previous years and 9·18 lakhs for other progressive commitments. When the budget is presented the tax-payer always looks forward to a relief in the burden of taxation he is bearing or for introduction of schemes which will benefit him. When the provincial contributions were remitted we hoped that the stamp duty and the court-fees would be reduced to the old level since they were designed only to be temporary measures to cover the deficits in the budget. But the financial condition of the province does not seem to give any hope for a reduction of taxation. It is stated that the average increase of revenue is about 16½ lakhs a year whereas the average increase of expenditure is about 30 or 40 lakhs a year. If we go on at this rate of extravagant expenditure, we may at the end of four or five years come to grief unless fresh sources of revenue are tapped. If, in the course of the next four or five years, we are not able to find fresh sources to meet the growing needs of the Government what are we to do? Is it not time therefore that we should make a thorough examination of the financial position of the country and adjust the expenditure and the revenue. The Finance Member has pointed out that it is time that we examined the expenditure, but he made no constructive proposals. It is the duty of Government to make proposals. Unless they do this immediately we will be in a very difficult position in the course of four or five years.

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"In introducing his budget last year the Finance Member said that he was making a 'reckless' budget owing to circumstances connected with our commitments of a recurring and non-recurring nature. He had to provide for interest on our borrowings and also to provide for the discharge of debt. This year the hon. the Finance Member in introducing his budget has said that there is a somewhat haphazard allotment of expenditure in the budget owing to the fluctuations or uncertainties of revenue. He is right in saying that it is a haphazard one. Past experience also shows this. In the budget of 1926-27 the anticipated revenue exceeded by about Rs. 50 lakhs, and there was also a short expenditure of about 89 lakhs. The hon. Member stated that in 1927-28 there would be not only a shortage of expenditure of 36 lakhs but the expenditure would be very much less than he anticipated. In paragraph 5 of his budget speech he says that the real shortage in expenditure is, however, considerably more, in spite of supplemental grants amounting to 83.04 lakhs. The revenue anticipated has increased in 1927-28 and the revenue surplus therefore would come to Rs. 118 lakhs. Remember that in 1926-27 the expenditure was short by about 83.56 lakhs and the explanation given was that it was 'deferred expenditure' and would not be available for next year or years to come. That applies only to two of the items, land revenue and irrigation, and does not apply to all the other items mentioned in paragraph 5.

"During the debate on the Report of the Public Accounts Committee, I submitted to the House how reckless are our budgets with regard to expenditure. Large surrenders or lapses are made by the departments, and this system deprives the other departments who might have more useful schemes for utilizing the money thus appropriated. We are not in a position to say what the real financial condition is. When the revenue forecast has so far exceeded and when the expenditure forecast has so far been less by even one crore it is not possible to say that the budget estimates are quite acceptable. This difficulty will be minimized if we have the fasli year as the financial year. The fasli accounts will be received from the Board of Revenue in about June. Until that report is received we are not able to see what the real revenue is and the real expenditure is. These large lapses are due to having the financial year end with the 31st March. If this can be changed and reliable information is obtained from the Board of Revenue and the Accountant-General this confusion may be avoided. The revenue forecast is said to be more than Rs. 21 lakhs, but the net increase is shown to be only Rs. 9 lakhs. Similarly with regard to the excess of expenditure over revenue of Rs. 180 lakhs, this reduces itself only to Rs. 99 lakhs when properly adjusted in the accounts. Therefore all this is due to want of proper information at the time of framing the budget. If we have all the information regarding the details of the adjustments that are to be made by the Accountant-General and the Finance Department, we will have more accurate figures. Now, it is impossible to have an accurate idea of the financial position of the province from the budget figures as they are presented. The question has to be examined if we want to avoid the disaster that we apprehend by budgeting for expenditure in excess of the revenues at the rate at which we have been doing. In the interests of the financial stability of this province it is necessary that the Finance Department should examine the question thoroughly and see how the expenditure can be regulated to correspond to the revenue derived from the province."

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* Mr. A. B. SHETTY :—“ Madam, if the Government are to be progressive in discharging their functions, the foundations of public finance must be so laid out that there can be sufficient expansion in revenue for them to embark on large development schemes: As the result of the remission of the provincial contributions the Government have, no doubt, been launching upon many development schemes but the hon. the Finance Member does not hold out any hopes of our being able to keep up this pace in the future. In the coming year there will be an addition of 99.82 lakhs of rupees to our standard scale of expenditure and about 117 lakhs of rupees have been allotted for new expenditure. But the hon. the Finance Member does not hope that in future the annual increase to our revenue can be put at a higher figure than that of 16 lakhs of rupees. We want large funds for free and compulsory education, for the extension of medical relief, for the many schemes of rural reconstruction which we are putting off and for attaining the goal of total prohibition. Money, more money, is what we need. The Government must explore further avenues of income which will not come as a further burden on the overtaxed citizen. The Government should not think of expanding the revenues by increasing the land tax because in that matter this province is already overtaxed. The income they are getting from excise, though it is increasing, is equally undesirable because it is derived mainly from poor people who are addicted to drink. It seems to me that the only legitimate and also the most fruitful way of augmenting the resources of the State as well as of furthering the prosperity of the people lies in the improvement of agriculture and the development of industries. The first concern of the Government ought to be to increase production from agriculture and industries. The advanced countries of the west are making enormous strides in this respect. But what are we doing here? We have budgeted for an expenditure of 17.47 lakhs of rupees. Of this amount only Rs 38 and odd lakhs goes for agriculture and 23 lakhs of rupees for industries; that means not even four per cent of the total expenditure goes for these two important departments. We have set apart Rs. 117 lakhs for new expenditure. Barely one lakh of this sum goes for agriculture. Contrasted with this, what a large amount we spend on brick and mortar and unproductive works. An essentially agricultural province like Madras must have a sufficiently large number of agricultural officers so that their services may be available even in the smallest villages. It must have a large number of demonstration farms, at least one in every taluk centre. The staff of demonstrators and the number of farms we have are far short of the requirements. In my own district of South Kanara, for instance, we have not a single experimental demonstration farm for the main crop of the district, viz., paddy, not to speak of other crops like sugarcane, though we have a number of coconut farms. Take the problem of water-supply. I understand that only seven million acres out of 33 million acres of arable land get the benefit of canal and tank irrigation in this province. The remaining 26 million acres of land can be brought under cultivation and can be made to produce more if only they get sufficient water facilities. It is true that the Government are spending huge sums upon major schemes of irrigation but they should not allow minor irrigation works to suffer neglect. If the flood and the river water running to waste in the West Coast is conserved, it will be a great boon to the ryots. The Government should tackle this problem in right earnest as they have done it in other countries and provide water facilities for the needs of a variety of crops all the year round.

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"Take again agricultural indebtedness. The extent of agricultural indebtedness and the need for agricultural credit are well-known. In this budget the Government have provided only 26 lakhs of rupees to be given as takkavi loans to ryots for agricultural purposes. It has been calculated that this works out at the rate of 12 annas per pattadar for a year. The trouble and the delay in getting these loans have been often pointed out in this House. The Government must allot more funds to be given as takkavi loans and also give them more freely and on easier terms to the ryots for agricultural improvement.

"Take again the export of manures. The export of indigenous manures and oil-seeds is going on increasing. The necessity for restricting these exports has been urged in this House and the levy of an export duty has been suggested. This proposal, I believe, has the approval of the experts of the department. The hon. Minister in charge of this department as well as one of the Ministers have, in their evidence given before the Agricultural Commission have also supported the levying of an export duty. When, the other day, a resolution on this subject was brought before this House the Government did not promise to do anything in the matter; they said that we should wait for the report of the Agricultural Commission on this matter.

"Let us next consider the problem of cattle-breeding which is so important for agricultural purposes. It is true that in this Presidency we have four cattle farms. But how far have they met the needs of this province? For the whole of the West Coast we have not a single cattle-breeding station. The Government are maintaining only one breeding bull for the whole of South Kanara. Nor are we better provided in the matter of protecting our cattle from epidemic diseases. With one veterinarian for every 700 square miles to treat $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of cattle how indeed can our cattle be protected effectively from epidemic diseases?

"Last of all let me draw your attention to the subject of agricultural education. We have one single Agricultural College provided for the needs of the whole province; and this college takes but 40 students in a year and it is meant for English educated youths. It attracts only people who aspire for Government service and not the real sons of the land. If we are to popularise agriculture as a means of livelihood and if our young men are to go back to the land we must extend agricultural education, we must have a large number of agricultural schools to give education in the vernaculars in rural parts for boys of 13 and 14. Besides giving general instruction in agriculture these schools must provide facilities for specializing in some form or other of agricultural industry. The Government must find out why even the two middle schools that were started have not been the success they were expected to be.

"The policy of the Government in regard to the fostering and development of industries is equally disappointing. What industry or industries of importance to this Presidency has the Department of Industries helped to promote? Even the hand-loom weaving industry which is admitted to be second in importance to agriculture is declining and with all the efforts the department is supposed to be making it has not been able to resuscitate this dying industry. With a succession of non-technical men as Directors and Secretaries who are ever changing how indeed can we expect this department to do anything except to mark time in the fashion it has been doing for over a decade now. In regard to industrial education the Government

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have only three institutions of their own and out of these the Leather Trades School is a huge failure. The Government policy aims at developing industrial education mainly by means of grants given to missionary agencies which are conducting industrial schools. The three industrial schools proposed to be started at Bellary, Mangalore and Calicut seem to be still awaiting final disposal of the Finance Department. I do not know what mutilation the proposal would suffer when it comes out of the Finance Department. In England every town is said to have its own technical school or college for turning out young men as practical businessmen. But here we are creating only more universities and multiplying Arts colleges. Let the Government, if they are really earnest about developing the industries of the country, start technical institutions which will equip our young men for employment in mines, mills, barks, railways, ship and business firms; and let them also see that the highest grade of instruction and training is given at least in one institution so that the young men who come out of it may be in a position to apply all the resources of modern science for the development of our industry and agriculture. Education in future must be largely vocational and Government must embark upon a more vigorous policy of encouraging industries and developing agriculture; they must come out with a bold programme of work for this purpose; otherwise there can be no salvation for this country."

Mr. K. ABDUL HYE:—"Madam, I rise to congratulate the hon. the Finance Member on presenting the provincial budget for 1928-29 which, on the whole, is not an unsatisfactory budget. But speaking on the figures it is my painful duty to point out that no special regard has been paid to the educational needs of the Mussalman community. Although my resolution on the question of separate inspecting agency for Muhammadan schools was defeated I still want to press the question for the consideration of the Government that a separate inspecting agency on the analogy of European schools is absolutely necessary to improve the educational condition of the Muhammadan community. It was contended by the hon. the Chief Minister the other day that for want of sufficient number of elementary schools a separate agency was not justifiable.

"Now that the theory has already been exploded, and District Educational Officers have mainly to look to elementary education nothing stands in the way of appointing officers of the higher cadre to look after the higher education of the Mussalmans.

"The paucity of such officers is responsible for the scant attention paid to such important subjects as the elementary education survey of villages with a decently large Muslim population, the prescription of lower minima for schoolless villages inhabited by Mussalmans, reduction of school fees and adequacy of scholarships, the position of Urdu-speaking Muhammadans with regard to the medium of instruction in secondary schools and their special difficulties with reference to the universities based upon linguistic considerations.

"The question of employment of Mussalmans in the higher ranks of the Educational department naturally leads on its turn to the more comprehensive question of the appointment of Muslims in the superior grades of the various other departments. I am glad that the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India has risen equal to the occasion by submitting to Government a memorial marshalled with facts and figures and it is up to

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Government to see that adequate though belated justice is meted out to the said representation, and the usual shibboleth of inefficiency which is made use of in season and out of season to cover up a multitude of sins of omission and commission on the part of the authorities are not repeated once more. Lectures and homilies are good in their own way but an ounce of practice is worth more than a ton of precepts.

"Last, but not least, is the question of Muhammadan representation in the local boards and municipalities. If these institutions are really meant to serve as the primary ground for higher political activities in higher councils and if Government really believe that it is essential to have a recourse to separate representation by means of election for the higher legislative bodies, it is sheer cruelty to deny the enjoyment of the same privileges to the community so far as the local bodies are concerned. It does no good to the community to see johukum members not responsible and responsive to the electorate getting into these bodies by the backdoor influence of nomination made according to the whims and fancies of Presidents and Chairmen. Unless the principle of election is extended to Mussalmans in the local bodies our national cry will sooner or later become 'no taxation without proper representation'.

"In conclusion I sincerely hope that these points will receive the earnest consideration of Government on account of their vital importance to the Muslim community."

* Khan Bahadur S. K. ABDUL RAZACK SAHIB Bahadur:—"Mr. President, Sir, let me first congratulate the hon. the Finance Member on the lucid speech with which he has explained the budget. It is indeed gratifying that of late the provision for the transferred half has gone on increasing year after year and I trust that with the entire remission of the imperial impost more funds would be forthcoming for the many growing needs of the nation building departments.

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"Sir, this is the occasion for members to give out their impressions of the previous year's administration and to bring to the notice of Government their several wants. Let me therefore take this opportunity to express the keen disappointment of the Muslim community at the scant attention which their claims have received at the hands of Government especially of the Law Member. It is now many years since Sir Abdur Rahim left the Madras High Court and no Muslim has been given a seat on the High Court Bench till now. There is not even a single Muslim Sub-Judge out of the 80 of their number, the only one in that cadre having recently been promoted as soon as I had tabled a resolution. Only eight of the large army of District Munsifs are Muhammadans. May I ask, Sir, if this will lead to contentment and whether it is not hard to expect us to bear this neglect patiently. The Judicial department is the worst offender in the matter of the recognition of the claims of Muhammadans. Turning next to the Secretariat the only Muhammadan Assistant Secretary was sent out some years ago and the Government have not cared to appoint a proper substitute. Cannot a single Muhammadan be found among the Deputy Collectors to serve as an Assistant or Under Secretary in the Board of Revenue or in one of the branches of the Secretariat.

"Again there was for a long time a tradition of two Muhammadan Collectors in this Presidency and as I was about to table a resolution the

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Revenue Member has anticipated me and I find from the papers that a Muhammadan Collector has been appointed to my own district. I trust, however, that this appointment and that of my friend Khan Bahadur Tamizuddin Sahib as Chief Presidency Magistrate will not, as is already rumoured, vanish into thin air the moment Sir John Simon turns his back on Madras but that they will be retained long if not confirmed in these posts. Mr. President, the Muhammadans are a sturdy and impulsive race and may have a lot of obstinacy in their blood, but ingratitude is not in their veins nor will they deign to hit a man below the belt. It is not desirable to play with their feelings for any length of time. My party, of which Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nayar is the Deputy Chief, has always been loyal to the Government and, as you would have read from his statement to the press, we are for co-operating with the Simon Commission. All that we ask in return is that our lawful claims and our legitimate demands should be satisfied and that we should receive that sympathy and encouragement which is justly due to us in our present stage of development.

"His Majesty's Government have recognized that for some time to come communal electorates are necessary if the voices of the several communities are to be heard in the Councils of the British Empire. We only plead for an extension of that principle and ask for communal representation in the several branches of public service so that the power of patronage may be evenly distributed and all classes of His Majesty's subjects may have equal opportunities and equal chances to serve their motherland. During the ministry of the Raja of Panagal, several orders were issued about communal representation, but all these orders have been consigned to the waste paper basket. Until the loaves and fishes of office are more evenly distributed—and it becomes the duty of some one to see that they are so distributed—there is bound to be keen dissensions, discontentment and heart burnings which a wise Government will do well to remove if it is not always possible to avoid."

Mr. K. KRISHNAN :—"Sir, I do not wish to deal upon the receipt side or the expenditure side of the budget and take up the time of the House. I would confine myself to a few remarks which concern my district in particular. In doing so, I would like to bring to the notice of the Chief Minister the want of educational facilities for boys and a second-grade college for girls. We are aware that several girls from Malabar who pass their Matriculation examination are compelled to join the Queen Mary's College or other college in Madras and sometimes even the College at Mangalore. There is a second-grade college in my portion of the district, North Malabar, but unfortunately it has not been well-equipped. Six or seven years ago, a scheme was prepared for temporary repairs to the building, but unfortunately that scheme has been shelved. I did not see any mention made about such improvements in any of the subsequent budgets. I hope the Minister for Education will be able to provide some funds for the improvement of that institution as it is the only second-grade college in that portion of Malabar.

"Another point that I wish to bring to the notice of the Government is the want of irrigation facilities in North Malabar in particular. There are several rivers which if properly attended to can be used for irrigating a large area of land. We want water when monsoon fails in May or June, and if the Government can provide three or four lakhs or even one or two lakhs,

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I am sure the ryots would be considerably benefited, at least in one portion of North Malabar. Government prepared a scheme ten years ago for irrigating a part of Malabar, especially Tellicherry, but that has been shelved. I hope the Member concerned will be pleased to consider this question and thus provide some relief for ryots in that area.

"Something has been said in this House about agriculture. Last year I said in this House that a small sum of money may be allotted for agricultural demonstration in primary schools, but one of the conditions imposed by Government was that the local bodies concerned should be prepared to meet half the expenses. It will not be possible for all local bodies to find funds for such a purpose. Therefore, I would request Government to make provision for financing local bodies for starting experimental farms in primary schools.

"I hear from various persons who have already spoken about the demands of various communities for appointments. I can say that in the Excise department which brings in a large amount of revenue to the Government most of which is contributed by the tapping population, there are very few persons of that community who are entertained as officers. I believe Government will be able to consider the question and give more appointments to members of that community in the Excise department which is giving the Government several lakhs."

* Mr. M. A. MANIKKAVELU NAYAKAR:—"Mr. President, Sir, this annual ceremony seems rather to be intended as giving an opportunity to the hon. Members of this House to deliver themselves of their valedictory and inaugural addresses of the outgoing and incoming financial years of the Madras Government. Apart from its exercising the mind of the hon. the Finance Member and compelling his attention to the speeches of the hon. Members, I do not see what else it does.

"Sir, last year, I intended to congratulate the hon. the Finance Member 3-46 on the presentation of his budget this year, but unfortunately, I am sorry, p.m. he has not given me an opportunity to congratulate him even this year. Last year, it was a deficit budget; this year also it is the same, and in spite of the enormous remission of provincial contributions, he has not been able to give us a surplus budget. The hon. the Finance Member says in his memorandum at page 9, 'Comparing this financial position with that which existed in the early years of the Reforms, it might seem one which we might regard with complacency.' Again at page 11, he says 'And this would, I think, tend to revive that financial sense which I fear has been considerably weakened under the temporarily affluent circumstances to which the remission of our provincial contribution has given rise.' I am afraid, Sir, but for the provincial remission, the hon. the Finance Member would have been compelled long ago to file his schedule before the Government of India. In the budget, I see huge sums being allotted for civil works and other structures of brick and mortar nature which the country can well afford to be without for some time. The provincial remission was mainly derived from the enhanced taxes on the villagers, on land revenue, and therefore as a matter of right and equity when the remission was granted it ought to go to alleviate their grievances and also to lessen the taxation of the villager. But instead of that, these sums are being mercilessly spent in increasing the facilities and other conveniences of the townspeople rather than improving the condition of the ryots.

[Mr. M. A. Manikkavelu Nayakar] [1st March 1928]

"I do not wish to go over the usual topics, such as the separation of the executive and the judiciary, the abolition of the Board of Revenue and forest grievances. I shall only criticise the budget from an out and out ryot's point of view. Everybody knows that the Indian ryot is very much burdened; in fact a pice more added to the taxation will tumble the whole edifice of the Government, I am afraid having regard to the saying that at times 'Even the worm would turn'. The burdens heaped on him are too much for him to bear. If you go round the villages now, you will see the poor villagers in their skeletons starving without even one meal a day and badly clothed. So what I want to urge on the Government is that this remission of about 3 crores should be profitably utilized in removing the grievances of the ryots. One way of doing it may be by way of reducing the amount of land tax. But as far as my experience of this Government goes, I think it is a forlorn hope. The next alternative that they can do will be to give him more facilities in the shape of rural water-supply and village communications and elementary education in the villages. In the schools we used to read about the benefits of the British administration, such as the introduction of railways, roads, posts and telegraphs and so on. But to my mind, the most outstanding effect of the British administration is the complete sapping up of the life blood of the villagers and the utter ruin of the happy and self-contented villagers. The reason is the heavy and unbearable taxation of the ryots. So, I suggest to the hon. the Finance Member, at least next year, that any sum that would be available should be utilized for spreading education in villages and introducing a scheme of prohibition and also village communications and water-supply. As for the prohibition question, the hon. the Excise Minister, apart from being mum and ministering his excise commodities to the people has not done anything further, I think. I hope at least in future he will do something. I wish to hear from him about his experiments in one or two districts. It is also mentioned in the speech made by the hon. the Finance Member that some steps were taken towards the introduction of prohibition. I do not know what they are. I hope he will place them before this House.

"Sir, under Education in the year 1926-27, I find a big sum of 8 lakhs has been released without being utilized. I do not know, especially when it is very difficult to get grants for the transferred subjects, why such a big sum was allowed to be released unspent. I think the member in charge of that department should be more careful in utilizing all the money he is able to get. There are scores of villages, at any rate, in my district, I am personally aware of villages which contain a population of 500 to 1,000 villagers, which cannot boast of an educational institution. Of course, in some villages, there are those apologies for schools, the aided schools which seem to exist only in name and for getting the grants. But except once or twice a year, when the Inspector visits these schools, they are always closed. I hope the Government will introduce a stricter system of control over these aided schools. At present they exist only in name. The aided school teacher or proprietor simply takes the grants and minds his own business. I hope the hon. the Chief Minister will take note of it and introduce some effective control over these aided schools.

"Turning to the hon. the Development Minister, he is an amiable gentleman, Sir; he is entirely a man of the masses. He is a good enunciator of high principles and all that, but when it comes to the matter of action, his

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achievement is a big zero. I am sorry that the power of nomination which is unfortunately vested in him has been grossly abused by him. As far as my community is concerned, I shall give one instance. In the district of Tanjore, out of three temple committees, each committee consisting of 12 members, he has not felt the justice of nominating even one member from my community, even though their population is about 3 lakhs, most of whom have some stake in the district. Especially in the Tanjore Committee I find hosts of theosophists, fathers-in-law and sons-in-law put together, of the same community. I do not know why members from other backward communities are not nominated."

* Mr. V. RAMJEE RAO :—"Mr. President, Sir, my first care in this House, Sir, ought to be and is the welfare of the depressed classes. That expression really covers a wide range but judging from the heads of the Budget, it not only confines itself to Adi-Andhra and Adi-Dravida—the real depressed classes—but also fishermen, Setti Balijs, etc. As things stand, the barbers, the dhobies and Mutharasis are ranked alike with Kammas and Kappus in my district, Kistna, under backward classes and people would laugh at such a bracketing if they had any intimate knowledge of the local conditions. Either therefore our policy must be to limit the definition of depressed classes and confine it only to the untouchables or to amplify it and include also dhobies, barbers, Mutharasis, Deva dasi young men, Upparis and such other compact communities. If the latter is done, Government could not say they are doing a social service but a political trick in the garb of economic uplift.

"Sir, coming to the allotments in the budget, I find that the whole Presidency has not been covered as yet by the operations of the Labour Department. These districts, Sir, are indeed few, not being more than perhaps 15 or 16. It is time that the department extended its beneficent labours to the whole Presidency. In my district, Sir, I regret to have to say, the Zamindari tracts have been neglected more or less fully by the Labour Department. No difficulties that such areas may present in respect of acquiring land should be considered insurmountable to a powerful Government whose arm of protection must be long enough to reach not only the direct subjects in ryotwari tracts but also those who are caught up in the diarchy of British Government and Indian Aristocracy.

"I wish to make one observation upon the principle of the recruitment of Labour officers. At present, Sir, officers of the grade of Deputy Tahsildars and Tahsildars of low grade are selected for labour work in the districts and they are, though for the time being under the Labour Commissioner, really subordinates of the Collector. They do not possess the power or intelligence necessary. I maintain that the whole cadre of officers should be of the grade of Deputy Collectors, so that they might not look to their immediate officers as Tahsildar grade men must for the approbation of their work. Let our Labour officers of the district have but one master to serve—viz., the Labour Commissioner. Let them have sufficient initiative and powers, let them be men of a certain dignity so that their influence in the villages would be appreciable both with the public and the village officers. These officers, it will be agreed, ought not merely to exercise authority, but also to impress the public with their personality; such a personality means a certain moral influence which alone would enable the officers to discharge

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their educative functions. It will be readily seen that the Labour Department has functions analogous to those of the Co-operative department in that both of them must carry on a volume of educative and propagandist work and the spheres of both of them are as much moral as material.

"May I point out, Sir, that for the whole Andhradesa which is as large as Italy or Turkey, and five times the size of Holland or Serbia and covers an area of 170,000 square miles with a population of 17½ millions, of which one-fifth the submerged classes, there is but one Boarding Home at Masulipatam for the depressed classes under the Labour Department. It provides, Sir, only 5½ seats. I am not mentioning any secret when I tell the House that out of 430 applications I could accept as Superintendent of the Hostel only nine and disappoint the rest as only nine vacancies arose. The situation is truly pathetic, and I would implore the hon. the Home Member to recognize this tragic fact and remedy the evil either by multiplying such institutions or if such multiplication is considered expensive, increase the accommodation in the existing institution. A like embarrassment, I am sure, faces the Tamil province as well, and I am sure that the Commissioner of Labour who is in direct charge of the Madras Paddison Hostel will echo my sentiments and share my disappointment. I would ask him to go further and agree with my views and adopt my proposals.

"Sir, I find no increase in the allotment for scholarships. I know that now is not the time for me to make such suggestions but I would invite the attention to the principle underlying the omission. Where they cannot provide boarding and free education we must at least encourage these unhappy children by voting ever increasing sums for scholarships and thus enable them to find some little money for books, stationery and clothing. The next point, Sir, I would like to make, relates perhaps to a less concrete but nonetheless urgent reform. I refer to their supreme necessity for establishing a central vocational high school like the one in the Mysore State, for the depressed classes. Government are never tired of attributing the political discontent of this country to the failure to provide employment to University men in proportion to their numbers of attainments. If the Government reasoning is correct what remedy do the Government propose? Would the Government manufacture more and more of these malcontents from amongst the depressed classes also and let them loose upon society or would the Government correct the conditions betimes and cultivate in our youngmen of this society a bias for some vocation in their early and formative period of life. I need not labour this point at length. It embodies a self-evident proposition. Only it requires a breadth of view on the part of the authorities so as to reconcile their observations to their administration.

4 p.m. "Sir, the days to come promise to be spacious only in the spirit in which we hasten their advent. Do you know, Sir, that while there are innumerable choultries for caste people in the towns, which are pure private benefactions, the son of man belonging to the untouchables has no place where to lay his head. I would beg that a choultry for the depressed classes may be opened to start with, in every district headquarters; to say that the Local Fund bungalows are available is not to see the problem in its grim reality. Would you expect these poor, ill-clad, starving people to sit and hold court in the travellers' bungalows and pay the charges at Re. 1 per day? That is out of the question. Perhaps you will laugh when I, who stand for the removal of untouchability, am supporting separate institutions. I am only suggesting

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to the citizens of the depressed classes that Government have conceded to the students thereof in granting them separate hostels and the principle underlying both is, it will be seen, identical.

"I now come, Sir, to the criminal tribes and the settlements established for their betterment. It is an open secret that these settlements where they are not run as State institutions are in the charge of the Salvation Army and the American Baptist Mission who do as much proselytising in and through them as social uplift. On a previous occasion, Sir, Sir Lionel Davidson or Sir Arthur Knapp, if I remember right, agreed to hand over these institutions to Hindu Missions or Hindu social workers. I would like to ask whether and if so with what results any enquiries have been made in this behalf? Apparently, Sir, Government, I believe, have changed their mind in the matter because in replying to the enquiry by my hon. Friend Mr. P. Anjineyulu of the Opposition Bench, Government have stated that they cannot change the management from the hands of the Salvation Army. Such a policy is obviously at variance with the avowed policy of Government which professes religious neutrality for they are financing a body which under the ostensible plan of social and economic amelioration, is openly introducing forms of worship and ideals of life altogether alien to the faith in which they have been born and brought up. The remedy is, Sir, either for the Government to take over the management or to hand them over to Hindu workers commanding the confidence of Government.

"My next point, Sir, is on Excise. Closely allied to the question of the depressed classes is the problem of Excise. What is the use of teaching sanitation and imparting education to these unfortunates if at the same time we are undoing both of them by taking drink to their very doors and ruining alike their health and their character? The Advisory bodies now associated with the Government are advisory with a vengeance. Their advice is disregarded in vital matters. May I quote, Sir, my latest experience? The Bandar Division Excise Advisory Committee has fully discussed and resolved to close entirely the arrack shop at Bandar Fort and to shift the place of a shop to another corner. I also happened to be on the Advisory Committee. The Commissioner of Excise, it seems, has ordered the retention of the Fort shop at Fort and location of the second one in the very heart of the town near the Robertsonpet market. I cannot understand, Sir, the Government's attitude in the matter. What is the use of forming the advisory bodies when their advice is disregarded? May I ask the hon. the Minister for Public Health about the policy of the Government in the matter? I note on a perusal of last year's budget report that the hon. Mr. Moir, Finance Member, told this House that when he lost 6½ lakhs in Land Revenue, he gained 19½ lakhs under Excise. I ask in all humility whether this is a matter to be proud of? I will not go into the age-long question how best to reform the Excise Department. Two budgets have been presented since the Ministry came into office and seven years have elapsed since the Montford era began. Yet, I regret that no tangible steps have been taken to secure redress of this longstanding grievance. The example of Bombay may well be copied and improved upon by Madras and I sincerely hope that before the hon. Minister lays down the reins of his high office at least, he will have effected a reform in this branch which will be a monument of his public spirit and zeal for social reform,

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"Sir, the truth has been repeated *ad nauseam* that nearly 80 per cent of the population is agricultural. What have we done for agricultural education. The solitary college at Coimbatore has produced diplomats and graduates some of whom, I am sorry to state, have crowned their careers by gaining admission to the Law College and settling down as honest lawyers. Was that the purpose for which the college was started? The fact is the country requires agricultural middle schools, one in every district, so as to create in the young men a bias for agriculture early in life. The demonstration farms in Samalkota and other places only take farm servants for training. But it is the sons of landlords that must be taught the science and art of agriculture with special relation to the soils and crops and conditions of each district. The matter is an important one; the urgency of which will not be questioned by even the most conservative amongst us.

"Sir, my district is confronted with a resettlement just now. People feel sore grieved that although Mr. Montagu recommended and the Joint Parliamentary Committee endorsed the recommendation that the land revenue laws should be codified, still nothing has been done so far and settlements are taking place under orders which gradually impose a higher burden on the poorer classes. This is most undesirable and impolitic. The land tax in its incidence on rich and poor is most inequitable. The rich pay proportionately little and the poor pay much more. Whereas a monthly income of Rs. 150 goes untaxed, every acre of land is taxed although the acre does not give an income of Rs. 2 per mensem. I ask, is this fair? Is it because the Government is an industrial Government that it gives concessions to the urban population? If income less than Rs. 2,000 is free from income-tax, why not land be equally exonerated below a certain value? Of course, every acre may pay water-tax. But I am pleading for the exemption of all pattadars of less than say ten acres for the present from land tax. This question must be raised in the interests of the six and a half millions of depressed classes and a larger number of other equally poor classes.

"I shall not, Sir, take more of the time of the House but I must say that the budget in so far as it relates to depressed classes is a very unsatisfactory one."

* Mr. M. V. GANGADHARA SIVA :—"Mr. President, I need not inform the Government about the lot and the suffering of the depressed classes. As they know better than our member, I would like to illustrate some points before the Government. The real owners of cultivable land in India were the depressed classes. In those days there were no boundary stones or anything of the sort as now exist, after the settlement of the East India Company in 1751 the British people adopted a system of lords, tenants and sub-tenants for the purpose of collection of revenues in India. The Britisher without enquiring into the grievances of the depressed classes, ascertained the opinion from caste Hindus who used to be in the centre of the village as to who is the owner of the cultivable lands whereas the depressed classes were shunted out of the villages on question. Caste Hindus said that the lands were their own and the British people made the pattas in their name and thus deprived the lands of the depressed class; even now this fact has been fully explained by Sir Baden Powel. Even now there is the system of 'Ellay ottem' in Tamil whenever a boundary dispute arises. This shows that a depressed class man is the owner of the lands.

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"Then, Mr. President, about the social disabilities of the depressed classes. The Government have stopped the Sati movement and infanticide in spite of Hindu dharma and Hindu custom. Why should not Government and the legislature take up the necessary steps to prevent the social disabilities given by our own Hindu brethren and pass such criminal laws which can safeguard the honour and prestige of the depressed classes? Whenever we ask the Government to interfere in matters of social disabilities, the Government say 'this is a Hindu custom we have nothing to do with it'. Mr. President, I cannot demean our community saying that we are depressed and that we are uneducated. There are no educated men in our community. Mr. President, I may say in our community, there were poets and poetesses: I may say among them, Avvayar, Tiruvalluvar and other eminent people whom our people pride themselves of possessing and whom our Hindu brethren adore.

"Mr. President, regarding appointments in Government service, the Government show preferential treatment to other communities simply because they were once a ruling nation. I don't grudge about that, but why not Government give the same preferential treatment to the depressed classes also who have supported the British Government at the time of their settlement in India. Mr. President, there are graduates in the Government service in our community who are not given decent appointments in spite of our request. For these reasons I request the Government to provide at least one acre of land for each depressed class family to lead an independent life and also to give them education as far as possible which can safeguard the interests of the depressed classes, so that they can lead an independent life without the help of the other caste Hindus."

* Mr. C. D. APPAVU CHETTIYAR :—"I rise to congratulate the hon. the Finance Member for the businesslike statement which he has presented to this Council this year in respect of the financial resources and expenditure of this Presidency.

"During the few minutes allotted to me I can only take long strides over the varied activities of the Government, both 'Reserved' and 'Transferred,' as we see in every day life and as we see through the figures placed before us by the Finance Member. The hon. Member does not refer to any 'Arthasastra' of old, nor does he take us away from the regular business on hand even for a moment. He has furnished us facts and figures. He has also given us certain conclusions which he has drawn from them. He asks us to halt and to take a survey of the past and present before we begin to leap into the dark. He considers that it is unsafe to rush into any future commitments without furthering our resources. This advice everyone should take, especially when it comes from a born financier who was one with us in fighting against the 'Meston award' which has after all been withdrawn.

"The Budget Memorandum prepared by the Finance Secretary helps us as usual to know the real distribution of funds between the Transferred and the Reserved halves, and this is necessary to know how far we have progressed in the path of Self-Government. It will be seen that almost the same ratio as that of 1921 is being kept up in the distribution of allotments between the Reserved and the Transferred. If there had been a cry that sufficient funds were not provided for the nation-developing departments during the last six years, it may be taken that it continues even to the

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present day. In spite of the fact that the contributions has been wholly released it is not clear what steps were taken sincerely to provide sufficient funds for the expansion of these departments. May I ask why should not funds be provided sufficiently for the departments like Agriculture, Veterinary and Co-operation, which are still in their infancy though they have seen three successive Ministers. The comparatively small additional provision that has been made for new schemes for the next year relating to these departments shows either that there are large schemes left unprovided for, or that the heads of departments do not bestow sufficient attention to the expansion of their respective departments.

"The excise policy of the Government remains an open mystery. It was expected that at least with the advent of the new spirit in the Council, there would be a thorough change in the policy which would go to do away with the drink evil and uplift the nation at large. From what I understand it appears that a scheme of partial prohibition is on the anvil and I hope that the Finance Member will co-operate with the hon. Minister in trying to tap other sources in order to stop the tapping of trees.

"Sir, I cannot dwell more on the achievements of the Minister for Education and Local Self-Government. In trying to amend the various Acts relating to Education, he has really bestowed great attention to the essential needs of the hour in this direction. His scheme for liberalization of the Grant-in-Aid Code is really a laudable one and goes to help the management of many an aided school. He has also taken pains to provide money for opening elementary schools for girls.

"There has been a great deal of criticism here and outside about the policy of nominations to the local bodies. I do not propose to dwell on this point at large, except to point out that so long as the principle of nomination continues the Minister has to nominate those whom he thinks best in the circumstances placed as he is, and in the words of the hon. the Raja of Panagal, for every appointment he makes, to create a doubtful friend and a host of enemies. The evil lies in the system and I hope it will be possible to evolve a system by which these nominations could be done away with, the minority and depressed communities being allowed to elect their own representatives. I hope the hon. Minister will examine this question seriously.

"I would also appeal to the hon. the Chief Minister to introduce at an early date the proposed amending Bills to the Local Boards and the District Municipalities Acts, with a view to remove the very many irregularities which have come to our knowledge during these eight years the Acts were in force. I consider the appointment of executive officers for the Local bodies very essential in the conduct of elections, etc.

"A few words regarding the reserved half. We find large amounts provided for big schemes like the Mettur and the Pykara projects and for civil works in general. It is yet to be cleared whether Salem could not be included in the proposed Mettur area and the hon. Member will, I am sure, be pleased to enlighten us as to the position.

"Administration of Justice consumes an enormous amount and it is not known whether any sincere steps have been taken to examine possible retrenchment in this direction. Before Government quarters for officers and for offices involving large capital expenditure are proposed to be built, it

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should be possible for the Government to examine the availability of private rented buildings for the purpose and I request Government to pay some attention to this which would really go to save much.

"So far as my own district of Salem is concerned, it seems unnecessary for me to refer to the various needs of the district, as the hon. the Minister for Education comes from my own district and knowing full well our difficulties and needs, he will be doing his best to safeguard our interests in particular from his place on the Treasury Bench. But one matter I should refer to. The question of the site for the Salem Municipal College is pending for a long time, and I hope the hon. Minister will see his way to issue early orders in the matter."

Mr. S. VENKAYYA :—“**భూమి పన్ను తగ్గించుట.**—నిమ్మజాతులు, ఆర్థికము పేదలున్నా ఎక్కువ ఋణగ్రస్తలోనున్నవారగుటచే ప్రస్తుతం చేయబడిన రీ నేటియైంట్టువారి నిర్ణయ ప్రకారము ద్వార్యకంతులగు వైతులగు ఆగజాతులవారికివలె వీరికికూడా ఎక్కువ శిస్తులను (భూమి పన్ను)ను విధించేముదల యిట్టి యెక్కువ భూమి పన్నుల చెల్లించుచు తమ పేద కుటుంబముల పోషించు సమర్థులుగాక ఋణగ్రస్తులై కొన్ని రోజులలోనే తమ భూములను ఋణదాతల హుజేసీ కడుపీడలై పోవలసినగతికట్టును గాన ఆంధ్రదేశమందలి నిమ్మజాతులగు పేద వైతులపై భూమి శిస్తును తగ్గించవలెనని దొరతనమువారిని కోరుచున్నాను.

“**మధ్యపానము.**—నిమ్మజాతులు, కూలినాలి చేసి జీవించు పేదలు గనుకను వీరు సంపాదించు కూలీలో కొంతభాగము మధ్యపానమునకై ఖర్చుపడిపోవును గనుక కీరి సంపాదన కుటుంబపోషణకునకై ఉపయోగపడి గుఱుముగా జీవించుటకు ఒక జిల్లాలోనైన ఈ మధ్య మిక్రయరును దొరతనమువారిని తగ్గించగోరుచున్నాను.

“**సర్కారు గయారు భూములను సాగుబడి యధివృద్ధికొరకు వినియోగపరచేముదల ప్రపంచములో** తరుచుగాపన్ను కలుపుట తగ్గుననియు, ప్రభుత్వమునకుకూడ భూమి పన్నువలన వచ్చు ఆదాయము వృద్ధియగుననియు, యిందువలన జీవనాధారములేని ఆంక ప్రజలకు ఆధారము లేర్పడగలవనియు, సూచించుచు ఈ సర్కారు గయారు భూముల అన్నియు, వేలము వేసేయెడల కడుపీడలగు ఆదిమాంధుల తడవమే సొత్తు చెల్లించికోసజాలరనియు వీరి యార్థికిస్థితి బాగుపడుటకు లేబరు, వ్యవసాయ, సహకార పరమిసంఘములను స్థాపించి తద్వారా చూర్మిట్టు రేట్లు ధరప్రకారం కొన్ని వాయిదాలమీద సదరు భూముల ఖరీదు చెల్లించి సాగుచేసుకొనే చద్దతి ప్రకారము ఆదిమాంధుల వరము జేయవలయునని దొరతనమువారిని కోరుచున్నాను.

“**నీటివసతి.**—బంజరు భూములు, మామూలు సాగు భూములకు నీరు ధారావముగావచ్చుటకు పంటకాల్వలను వృద్ధిచేసి, మామూలుగా ఉన్నవాటిని మరిప్తుతు చేయించవలయును. మురుగునీరు పోవుటకు వీలులేక ఆతివృష్టిలో పొలములను ముంచివేయుచు గ్రామములనుట్లు కడలక నిలచునట్టి మురికినీరు పెంటసేపోవుచుండునట్లు విరివిగా మురుగు కాల్వలను త్రవ్వించవలయును. కృష్ణానదికి ఉత్తరమునకున్న కాలువయును, మెరక కాలువయును తూర్పు కట్టకాలువ మున్నేరు దీవి పంటింగు కాలువలను మరిప్తుతుచేయించి వ్యవసాయార్థివృద్ధి గాంపవలయును. దీవి తాలూకా చివర గ్రామములు సముద్ర ప్రాంతములగుట వలన ఆ ప్రాంతవాసులకు మంచి నీటివసతికొరకు నూతులు త్రవ్వకొన్నను ఉప్పునీళ్లు పడుచుండునుగాన ఆ ప్రాంతవాసులగు నిమ్మజాతులకు విరివిగా చెరువులు త్రవ్వించవలయును.

“**ఆరోగ్యము.**—నిమ్మజాతుల పల్లెలు, అనారోగ్య ప్రదేశములయందు నిర్దిష్టమడుతుడుగాక, ఇంటిమీద యిల్లు, ఇరుకు సందులు, ఇండ్లవట్టు పెంటకుప్పలు ధారావముగ

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వెలుతురు వచ్చుటకు వీలుగలుగునట్టి కిటికీలు ద్వారములు లేనట్టి యిండ్లున్నూ, ఈ పల్లెలచుట్టు మురికినీటి గుంటలు యిట్టి మురికినీరు పోవుచూర్లము లేక యిండ్లచుట్టు నిలచి దుర్గంధయుక్తము లగుచున్నవి, అసలే యిండ్లు స్వంతముగా లేనివారు స్వస్థలములు లేనివారు నిమ్మజాతులలో విశేషముగా గలరుగాన నివేశ స్థలముల, లేబరు సహకార పరపతి సంఘములను స్థాపించి తద్వారా వారికి నివేశ స్థలముల సొసగవలయును. ప్రతి తాలూకాకు ఒకటి చొప్పున (Model villages) ప్రదర్శన పల్లెలను నిర్మించి యిచ్చి నిమ్మజాతుల ఆరోగ్యమును కాపాడ వలయును.

“Industrial and Agricultural Schools.—నిమ్మజాతులు ఆదినందియు వ్యవసాయము, చేతిపనులు చేసి జీవించు కార్మికులుగాన, వీరు ఎల్లప్పుడు పశువులను కాయుట పాలేరు తనము, వ్యవసాయ తరుణములలో మాత్రము అనగా ఊడ్పులు కోతలు తప్ప తక్కిన సమయములలో వృధా ఉండవలసి వచ్చుచున్నారగాన, వీరికి జీవనోపాదులు కల్పించుటకు ప్రతి తాలూకాకు ఒక వ్యవసాయము, చేతిపనులు నేర్ప పాఠశాలను ఏర్పరచి అందు ఎక్కువగా ఆదిమాంధ్ర బాలురను జేర్చుకొనవలయునని ప్రభుత్వమువారికి తెలుపుచున్నాను.

“Interest.—నిమ్మజాతులు వ్యవసాయము నభివృద్ధి చేసుకొనుట, ఇండ్లు కట్టుకొనుట, వ్యాపారము, పశు పోషణము మొదలగుకార్యములకు ఋణదాతలు వీరికి 100 కిరూ 3-2-0, 1-9-0 లు వుట్టి 1 కి నాము పండుము, విడుము ధాన్యమును నాముగా వుచ్చుకొందురుగాన వీరి నిట్టి యధికవడ్డీ, వారినందియు, ఋణదాతల వారినందియు, తప్పించి నెల 1 కి 100 కి ఆ 8 లు మాత్రం ఏర్పరచి, సహకార పరపతి సంఘముల ద్వారా వీరికి ఋణ సౌకర్యము కలుగజేయ గోరుచున్నాను.

“Education.—విద్యాభివృద్ధికొరకు లోకల్ బోర్డులు లేబరు డిపార్టుమెంటులు క్రైస్తవ మిషనరీలు నిమ్మజాతుల పల్లెలలో పాఠశాలలను స్థాపించుచున్నారు గాని యింకను పాఠశాలలు లేని పల్లెలు వేసకువేలుగలవు. క్రైస్తవ పాదరీలు స్థాపించిన పాఠశాలలలో ప్రారంభవిద్య ఎంతమాత్రము వృద్ధి జెందుటలేదు. అందలి మిషనరీటీచర్లు తమ మత వ్యాపకము నిమిత్తమే కృషిచేయుచుందురుగాని నిమ్మజాతుల విద్యాభివృద్ధికై ఎంతమాత్రము ప్రయత్నించుటలేదు గాన పాఠశాలలు లేని నిమ్మజాతుల పల్లెలలో వివిధగా లేబరు డిపార్టుమెంటు వారు పాఠశాలలను స్థాపించవలయును.

“ఉన్నత విద్య నభ్యసించు పాఠశాలలలో వీరి బాలబాలికలకు జీతములు మాపుచేసి విద్యార్థి వేతనములను ఎక్కువగా యిప్పించవలయును.

“ఆస్పృశ్యత.—ఆగ్రజాతులవారు ఆదిమాంధ్రులను అస్పృశ్యతా దోషమునకు లోబడ జేయుచు అందువలన వీరు అనేక అనర్థముల పాలగుచున్నారు. ప్రభుత్వమువారి చేతను స్థానిక సంఘముల చేతను నెలకొల్పబడిన సత్రములు, సూతులు, చెర్వులు పాఠశాలలలో నిమ్మజాతులవారు ప్రవేశింపవచ్చునని శాసనసభవారు తీర్మానించినప్పటి ఆది ఆచరణలో లేక నిమ్మజాతుల కష్టములు తొలగుట యంతమాత్రము సహాయపడుటలేదు. గాన సదరు సంస్థల వద్ద నిమ్మజాతులు యధేచ్ఛగా ప్రవేశింపవచ్చుననెడి ప్రకటనలుగ బోర్డులను కట్టించుటకు స్థానిక సంఘముల ప్రాసెడెంట్లకు సర్క్యులర్లు పంపి ఆదిమాంధ్రుల ఆస్పృశ్య దోష నివారణకు సాయపడవలయునని దొరతనమువారిని కోరుచున్నాను.”

“The hon. the PRESIDENT:—“I think no non-official Member is willing to continue the discussion.”

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* Mr. D. THOMAS:—"Mr. President, Sir, let me congratulate the hon. the Finance Member not on the actual budget that he has presented to us but on the manner of his presentation, the courage, the candour and the outspokenness with which he has introduced us to a real live-view of the actual realities of the situation. In clear and definite terms he has told us that we have almost reached the limits of taxation in this Presidency. With a fairness that is altogether commendable he has shown us that the rate at which we are progressing on the expenditure side is such that it is only a question of time as to when we reach financial wreck and ruin. But while he shows us the disease, the suffering that we are at present undergoing, it is a pity that he does not indicate any remedy, that no constructive suggestions are put forward in the budget as to how exactly we are to set our House in order, so that the apprehended financial disaster, may be averted in the near future. This year's budget is quite in a line with the budgets of the previous years not only in carrying on the previous scales of expenditure but also in involving us in fresh commitments which are likely to go on increasing our financial burdens in years to come. It means that even without any additional commitments in future years, merely to carry on the commitments that you have already taken up and are taking up this year not only the present budget will not be sufficient but increased finances will have to be found. That shows that the situation, the financial situation, in which we are to-day, is really critical. In the face of that, this House is in duty bound to scrutinise the figures and the necessity of the expenditure that is proposed in this year's budget. I would only refer to one or two items in the current year's budget which would indicate to what length we are committing ourselves in the matter of financial expenditure.

"Taking one institution, namely, the Madras Medical College hon. Members will remember that this morning a question was tabled by Dr. Mallayya asking for a statement as regards the additional expenditure of the staff of the Medical College, and the printed answer to this morning's questionnaire shows that since the year 1926 something like Rs. 65,000 has been incurred—an annual recurring expenditure of Rs. 65,000, in addition to the previous expenditure. It may be that the Surgeon-General is anxious to bring up the efficiency of the College to a first-rate standard, but here, as in many other things, the good is the enemy of the best. There are, it must be admitted, things of much more urgent, much more stringent necessity than the efficiency of the Medical College. Prior to 1926, we had this Medical College, for years and years, and I do not think, I am not optimistic enough to hope, that the outturn of medical graduates in the coming years will be radically different from those we had in the past or what we have in the present.

"A motion was brought a few days ago before this Council asking for the introduction of vocational training for elementary schools. The hon. the Finance Member pointed out on that occasion the extra expenditure that would be incurred by such an undertaking being taken on hand. But just compare the two things. Compare the increased efficiency of the standard of the Medical College and compare the practical fundamental necessity for providing vocational training for students of elementary schools. It appears to me that the latter question, a matter of fundamental necessity which affects the depressed classes and other labouring classes of the country, is of much greater importance than the possibility of raising the efficiency of the

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Medical College to a level higher than before. Again, in the current year's budget also we find provision has been made as in previous years for building quarters for officers. Of course, quarters for officers is a necessity and a desirable thing indeed. But the point for consideration is rather that they are not things more necessary or more urgently needed than various other things which are required for the well being of the masses of the people of the country.

"It cannot be said that our officers who are working now in the various places are not without accommodation at all. Therefore, again, this item of the year's budget indicates that we are incurring expenditure without due regard to a general sense of proportion as regards the various necessitous claims on the budget in this Presidency. It, therefore, behoves us that we should proceed with care with reference to the introduction of new schemes for buildings, with reference to starting of new schemes such as the building of a bridge which is mentioned in this year's budget at a cost of eight lakhs, though the initial cost, being only of survey, is only about a few thousands of rupees. It means that if we sanction this preliminary survey, we commit ourselves for some years to come to something like eight lakhs of rupees, which even if spread over a period of four years will mean two lakhs of additional expenditure per annum.

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"In this and like matters we have to exercise very stringent economy and turn down schemes of this character in view of the paramount necessities which affect the welfare of the masses of the people.

"My hon. Friend Diwan Bahadur Krishnan Nayar referred to the separation of the executive and the judiciary. He said that it is a hoary question, that there is a long history behind it and that everyone approves of the necessity, the soundness and the wholesomeness of the scheme. But the sounder the more wholesome and the more generally accepted it is, the less is its chance for being brought into effect. It cannot be too often iterated that the fundamental things which affect the welfare of the people of this country are two things: one is the proper administration of justice and the other is the proper maintenance of law and order. It is these things which affect the day to day life of the large masses of the people. It is the fundamental duty of the Government to see that these two things, the administration of justice and the maintenance of law and order are so conducted as to win and secure the confidence of the people. So long as the executive and the judiciary are not separated, in spite of the fact that there are several honourable and conscientious magistrates it cannot be denied that justice there will not always be impartial. It is known to everybody that there are influences, that there are tendencies which are likely to work against the man who has not the means, who has not the wealth to fight out things to the very bitter end. In a matter of this character the Government should be prompt and ready and solicitous to see that as far as possible and as early as possible this much needed reform is introduced in this presidency. Last year in the course of the general discussion of the budget the same question was referred to and the hon. the Law Member replied, as in the previous years, that the matter is under the consideration of the Government of India. It was mentioned in the course of the last year's budget discussion that pressure should be brought to bear on the Government of India to expedite the scheme, to give us an idea as to what they are doing with it,

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whether they are sleeping over it or are taking active steps and what progress the scheme had attained in their hands. Today, after the lapse of a year, we are exactly where we were on that date. Nothing further, nothing tangible has yet been done. Not even a move, not even a step in the direction of the separation of the judicial and executive functions has yet been taken with reference to this fundamentally important matter. A matter which is almost of equal importance is the system of trial by jury in this presidency. It is well known and it is a fact that he who runs may read, that the system of trial by jury in this presidency is not all that might be desired. The system has become corrupt, has become open to very serious abuses—abuses by the police and abuses by rich and well-to-do persons. It has been abused on both hands, not by one party or another party exclusively, but by both parties, the prosecuting party as well as the accused party. One of the points dealt with in the report of the Administration of Justice in this province is as to how the system of trial by jury works. I can only say that there is no blindness equivalent to the blindness of those who will not see. If only the Government will institute a committee today and take the opinions, in camera, of sessions judges who conduct the cases of trial by jury and also the opinions and evidence of public prosecutors and of leading criminal lawyers they will have a volume of evidence which will convince beyond the least shadow of doubt, how corrupt, how rotten the system of trial by jury in this presidency has become. And yet, in this matter again which affects the fundamental rights of the people the Government have not lifted their little finger to set things right.

“Several hon. Members referred to the necessity of technical education. It is true we are having increased opportunities for primary and secondary education. We are turning out larger and larger numbers of graduates—medical graduates, law graduates, arts graduates, and so on and so forth. At the same time it has become increasingly evident that there is no manner of employment for the large majority of these graduates that we are turning out year after year. Many of them wander in the city of Madras and in the various other cities of this presidency hunting in the most pathetic manner for any employment that they may possibly get at. That is the haven to which their education has finally led them. The only remedy which can be provided for meeting the situation—a situation which is likely to grow in gravity as the years go by, a situation which is rife with the seeds of discontent in the years to come—the only remedy for this grave situation is to provide for more employment for the educated men in technical, commercial, industrial and agricultural pursuits.”

(The gong was struck and the hon. Member resumed his seat.)

* DR. (MRS.) S. MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI :—“Mr. President, I congratulate the hon. the Finance Member on the very lucid and the thorough manner in which he has presented this budget. I thank him for all the new schemes of increased expenditure he has provided in the coming year's budget. The items that give me most delight are those that relate to the women's education and the extension of medical relief. The provisions in the budget for the construction of a science block in the Queen Mary's College, the introduction of Indian music into the Queen Mary's College curriculum of studies, the opening of vocational training classes in the Lady Willingdon Training College and the establishment of a physical training course under a physical culture specialist in the latter college, the grant for the opening of more

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primary and secondary schools for girls are all highly gratifying ; but I feel sorry to note that, in spite of my interpellations and the repeated demands from the Principal of the Lady Willingdon College, there is no provision made even in this year's budget for a better accommodation for girls attending the Lady Willingdon College. Now the girls are living in two hostels both situated in the congested parts of Triplicane. The Christian and the Adi-Dravida hostel is situated in the Akbar Sahib street which some of the hon. Members who might have passed by that side of Triplicane would have noticed to be the most insanitary and the most crowded street in Triplicane. From the answer to my interpellations I find that the Government consider the place sufficiently sanitary and the best spot in Triplicane, but as a medical woman, I beg to differ. The other hostel is in Big street which is an old Indian-styled building housing 40 to 50 inmates. I have several times drawn the attention of the Government to the fact that there is no other hostel in the whole city for girls who come from the mufassals seeking secondary higher education in the absence of similar schools in the mufassals. I submit therefore that a good decent hostel is a very urgent necessity especially for the girls studying in the Lady Willingdon College, because, Sir, our girls suffer under so many disadvantages, their movements are very much limited, they do not enjoy as much freedom as our boys and except the school hours they have to spend all their time inside such hostels which do not satisfy the modern hygienic and sanitary needs of a healthy living place. So I most respectfully urge upon the attention of the authorities the need for finding without any further delay a building-site and putting up a hostel for the lady students so that it may serve as a model hostel for the future hostels of the Presidency.

“ Again Sir, I do not find any provision for the expansion and additions to the Lady Willingdon College even though the Principal in her annual report has pointed out the urgent need for such expansion in view of the fact that the College gives training for all the elementary, secondary and L.T. teachers to serve the whole Presidency. Now coming to the education of girls in general the report of the Director itself says (in the quinquennium report for 1922—27) the present education of girls is very backward as compared with that of the boys. From 1922 to 1927 while the percentage of boys receiving instruction increased by 2.5 per cent the percentage of girls increased by 7 per cent only. The report further says ‘ that when educational facilities are offered for girls, there is generally a quick response on the part of parents and the public.’ The supply of trained women teachers is still inadequate, but the lack of trained women teachers has been more due to the absence of facilities for training than the difficulty of securing candidates, so that the report of the Director of Public Instruction belies the statement of Miss Mayo—that no Indian woman would come forward to be trained as teacher and that the parents would not send their girls to schools. We see now it is the absence of educational facilities that is the chief hindrance to the rapid progress of women's education in this Presidency. So, I urge that more money should be spent upon the girls' education and special attention as stated in Mr. Statham's report has to be bestowed on the expansion and the development of the women's education.

“ I plead also for the opening of more training centres for female teachers and the institution of special scholarships for girls of the depressed and backward communities. Last year there were 30 applicants for admission to the

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non-Brahman hostel for scholarships and these included several Adi-Dravida girls. They had to be refused admission for want of scholarships. Further the scholarship given by the Labour Commissioner for Adi-Dravida girls is from Rs. 3 to Rs. 7. The girls coming from the mufassals have necessarily to board in a hostel. Adi-Dravida girls seeking higher education come from all parts of the Presidency. They cannot prosecute their studies and meet their expenses with this sum of Rs. 3 to 7. At least Rs. 15 will be needed for their boarding and lodging. We have issued an appeal to the Labour Commissioner on behalf of the depressed class girls to be kind enough to increase the amount of scholarship and make them residential scholarships.

"Muhammadan girls' education is still in a backward state and the exclusion of Muhammadan women from the system of compulsory education that was introduced three months ago in the city will prove a serious obstacle to the progress of that community. Sir, the welfare of a community depends upon the women of that community. What I see around here is that our brothers interest themselves in many other things than women's education and medical relief for women and children. Our Adi-Dravida brothers also stress more upon other grievances than the education of their girls. I would like them to remember that if they want to become independent, self-reliant and healthy they must look to their women first, because it is the home that is the best and first school for the acquirement of such high qualities.

"Again, Sir, to stimulate the demand for higher education both among the Muhammadan and the backward, depressed community girls, a few special residential scholarships should be instituted in the Queen Mary's College. As I have already pressed upon the attention of the hon. Minister through interpellations, a hostel for Muhammadan girls studying in the Hobart Training School for Muhammadan girls is very essential considering that it is the only secondary training school in the whole Presidency for Muslim girls.

"Coming to the Medical, I am pleased to note the provisions for the construction of a Tuberculosis Hospital for this city, for the provision of a home and the starting of industries for the incurable leper cases in Tirumani, for the appointment of a venereal specialist in the General Hospital and the purchase of drugs and other equipment, etc., for a separate venereal department in the General Hospital and the provision for the taking over under the Government management of a number of women and children mufassal hospitals.

"Regarding the construction of the Tuberculosis Hospital I have a word to say. No doubt the hospital is very essential, but I beg to submit that it may be located away from the habitations of the people around such as Egmore, Puduket, Komaleswaranpet, Vepery and Parasawakam as the location of the hospital in the Spur Tank may deprive the children of the neighbourhood of their playground and a healthy recreation spot in the absence of any open park in that area.

"I should like, if permitted, to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the very inadequate maternity service now existing in the rural parts, while 80 per cent of our Western sisters to-day enjoy the benefit of trained help at the time of child-birth, it is a most painful fact that not even 3 per cent

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of our women in the villages get that advantage. Our mothers at a most critical time in their lives are entrusted to the care of an ignorant and unclean barber midwife with very sad consequences. Under the rural schemes, the subsidy given by the Government to the midwife is only Rs. 10, a very poor compensation; while the Corporation midwives in the city get a salary of Rs. 40 to 50, the midwives under the rural scheme who cannot get a pie extra from the poor starving villagers, is paid such a low salary. Hence I am of opinion, Sir, that to attract the midwives from the city to the villages, the pay must be adequate and thus the services of trained midwives must be made available to the suffering women in the villages. I may also point out to the hon. Minister that the local village people have not yet come to realize the value of trained and scientific midwifery as they have been used all these years to the barber midwives whose fee varies from four annas to a rupee or a measure of paddy; if this is not possible with our present finance, I would urge the speedy inauguration of the Da's Scheme in every district in this Presidency as it has produced very good results in Hyderabad and Sindh (northern India) and in Simla so that our women may be spared from the sufferings and other disabilities that attend child-birth in this unfortunate land. I may submit also for your kind consideration that maternity service is the best service in any country and it should be the first charge on the finance of any country.

"Again, Sir, as Indian women prefer women to men to attend on the child-birth and as every year women medical graduates are increasing in this Presidency, I feel very strongly that maternity and child-welfare works must be largely done by women. Even in other countries where women enjoy so much freedom and education, maternity and child-welfare work is done mostly by women. It must be more so here in India where women may even prefer death to being attended to by men during child-birth. Further, I am of opinion, Sir, that our women graduates should be provided with facilities in every maternity hospital for a practical course in midwifery and gynæcological work and the Government should see that every medical graduate gets a period of post-graduate training before she is employed for the mufassal hospitals and dispensaries because midwifery is an emergency work and good and successful midwifery depends upon the experience and skill of the practising doctor. Again, Sir, when I put interpellations asking for an appointment of a lady doctor in Government General Hospital to look after the women patients suffering from venereal diseases, the answer was that there was no urgency for such an appointment. I have a great a mind to question that statement because I firmly believe that it is the presence of facilities that attract the patients to the hospitals and as we understand, from the report of Dr Lees and Mrs. Rolft that a large percentage of our men and women are suffering from that disease and as even in other countries for special work like this women are chosen to attract women to such places of treatment it is very necessary in the interest of the suffering, innocent women and in regard to their feelings in this matter that in every venereal clinic for men and women a woman doctor, when available, should be preferably appointed to look after the women patients suffering from such diseases.

"As for the necessity for a separate special hospital for children in the city of Madras, I learn from the budget that only departments for children are going to be opened in connexion with Maternity Hospital, Egmore, and

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the Government Victoria Caste and Gosha hospital, while the resolution stands for a separate special hospital of primary importance and not for one of secondary grade. However much I may approve of the scheme that in a maternity hospital there should be provision for anti-natal, intra-natal and post-natal work, so that the student's may follow up the cases from the expectant mother to the post-natal period of the infant and the mother, I feel very strongly still that for children below 12 years suffering from ailments peculiar to childhood special study and special attention is necessary so that independently of any maternity hospital research and study into children's diseases—diseases peculiar to this climate may be carried on by medical men and women who have got an aptitude and a taste for such a study, which proposal if necessary may be placed for further consideration before a medical committee composed of medical women, both European and Indian, of some years' standing who are well acquainted with the ailments of our women and children."

The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The House will now adjourn and re-assemble to-morrow at 11 o'clock."

R. V. KRISHNA AYYAR,
Secretary to the Legislative Council.

APPENDIX I.

[Vide answer to question No. 1645 asked by Syed Tajudin Sahib Bahadur at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 1st March 1928, page 159 supra.]

Note.

In September last, the Assistant Industrial Engineer, Tanjore, was asked to investigate the possibilities of successfully putting down trial borings for demonstrational purposes in two villages, Adanur and Pammal, of Tiruturaipundi taluk of the Tanjore district. This officer visited the villages in October 1927 and reported that there were a few small wells in these villages, 12 to 15 feet deep which yielded brackish water, each with a capacity to irrigate only one or two acres of tobacco, the only crop that could be grown with such brackish water. It was suggested that if deep borings could be conducted and fresh water obtained it might be possible, besides bringing a larger area under cultivation, to grow other remunerative crops. The villagers who are not conversant with the departmental activities, could not be induced to hire the departmental boring sets for the purpose. It was therefore decided that the department should undertake to put down trial borings in these two villages and explore the possibilities of tapping fresh water below the present brackish water level. If the borings are successful the ryots will be able to grow any remunerative crop. If, however, there are